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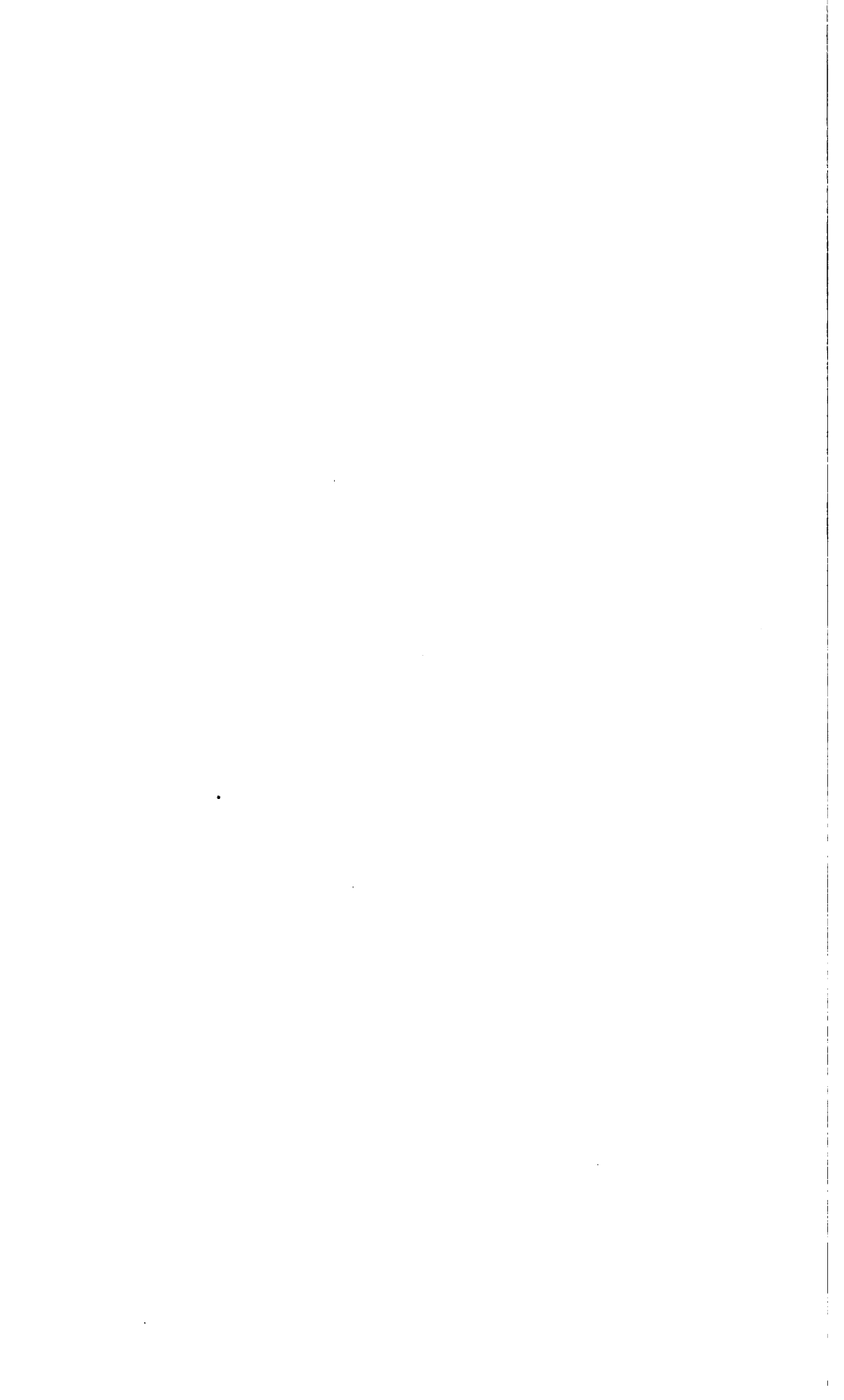


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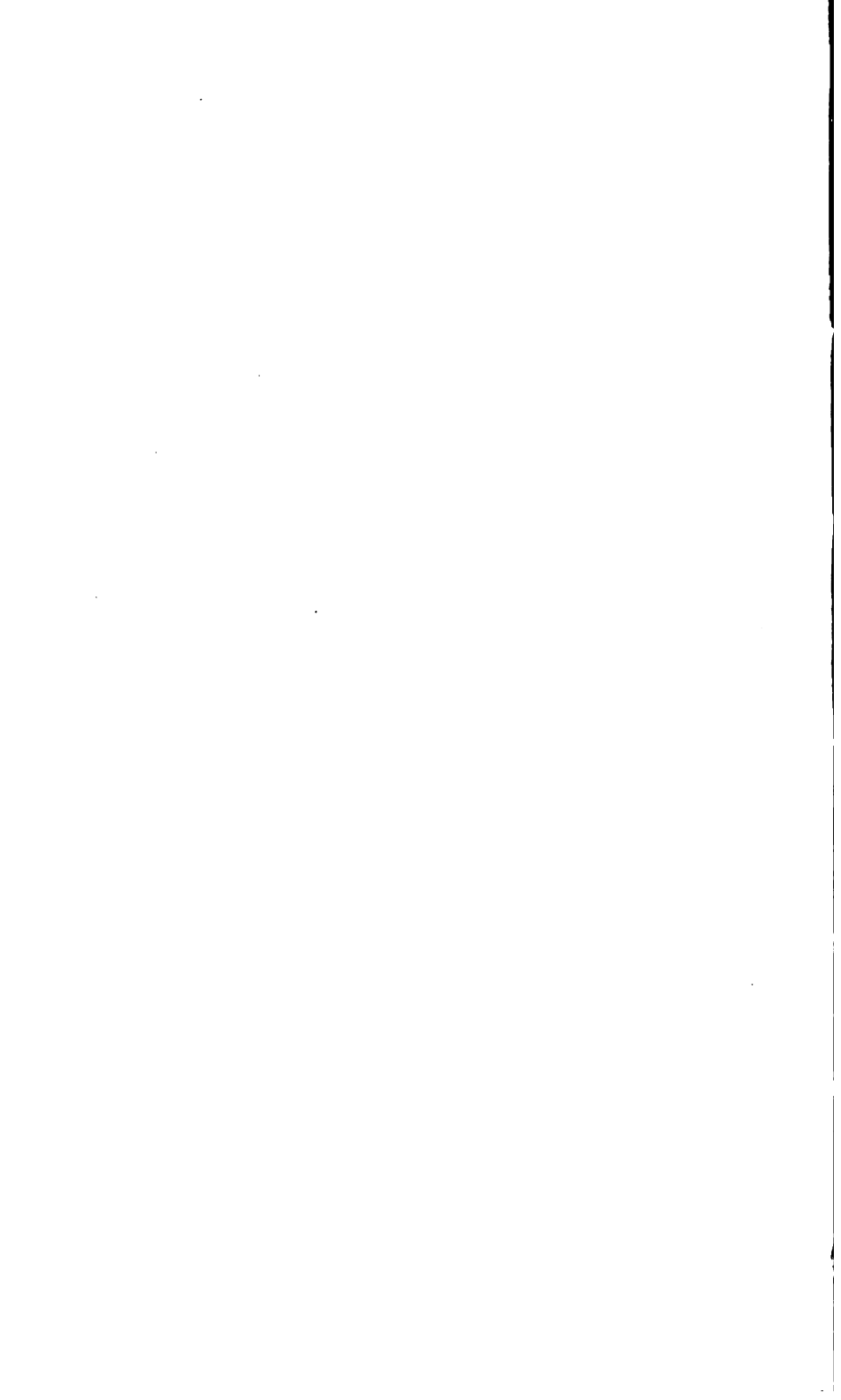




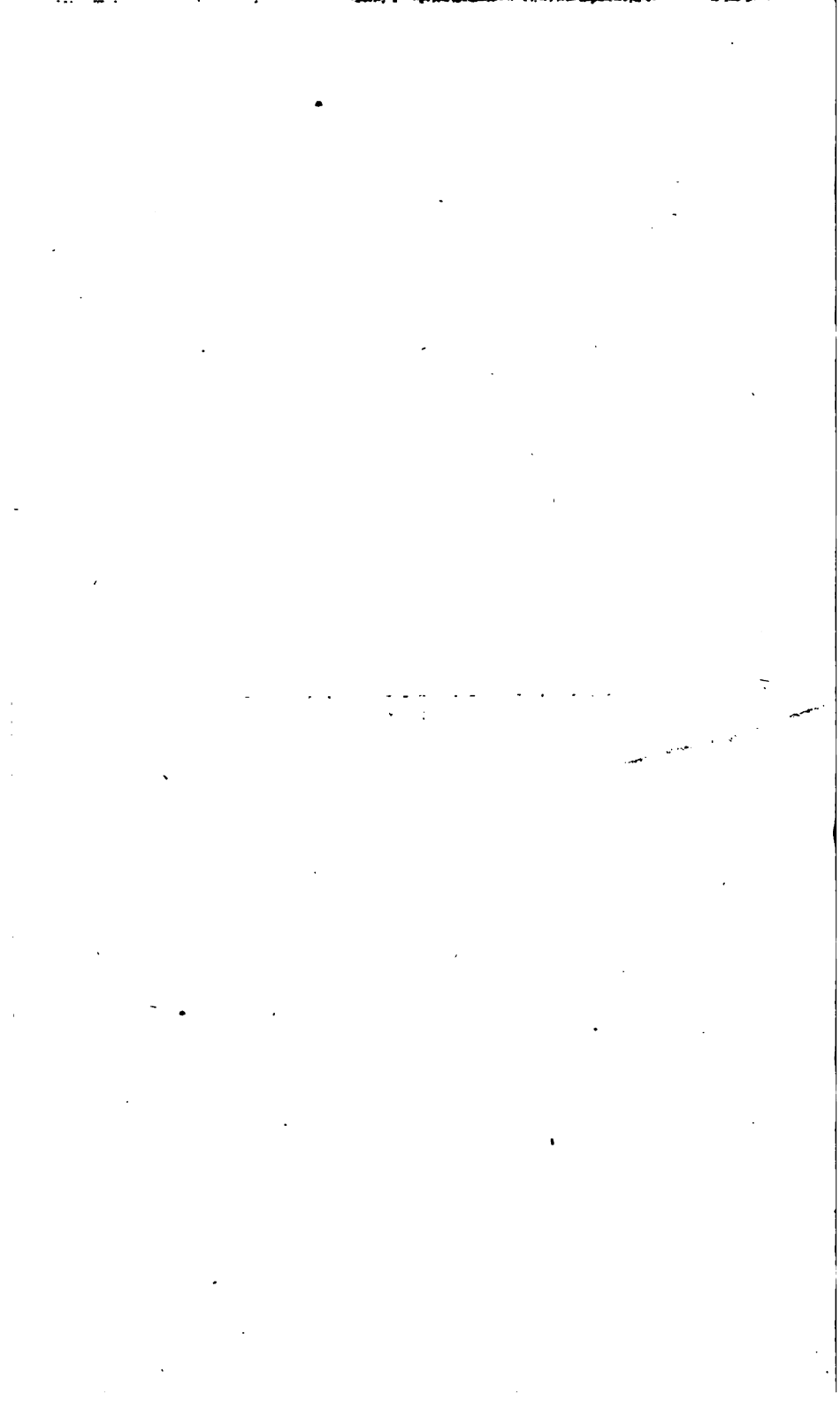








**CAMPAIGN IN SAXONY.**



A  
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CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
CAMPAIGN IN SAXONY,  
IN  
THE YEAR 1813.

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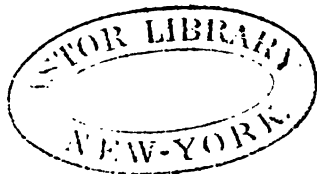
WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN GERMAN,  
BY BARON VON ODELEBEN,  
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF ROYAL SAXON CAVALRY,  
ADJUTANT ON THE GENERAL STAFF, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF ST. HENRY, AND MEMBER  
OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED,  
THE NOTES OF M. AUBERT DE VITRY,  
EDITOR OF THE FRENCH EDITION.

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THE WHOLE TRANSLATED  
BY ALFRED JOHN KEMPE,  
LATE OFFICER OF INFANTRY.

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# NARRATIVE,

&c.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Battle of Leipsic.—Final Retreat of Napoleon and his Army upon Erfurt.*

ON the 8th of October Napoleon went by way of Oschatz to Wurzen, and, on the 9th, to Eilenbourg. Since the passage of the Elbe, the cavalry under the orders of General Latour Maubourg, had taken the direction of Leipsic, jointly with the army of the King of Naples, by making several zigzag marches. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Duben, it took a share in the engagement with Prince Blücher; afterwards retired towards Eilenbourg, where the 7th *corps d'armée* was posted, commanded by General Regnier. This, together with all the French corps, which acted in concert with him, was obliged, after the battle of Dennewitz, to with-



draw behind the Elbe; and, in the sequel, as far as the Mulde, where it would have been impossible for it much longer to make head against Blucher.

Napoleon endeavoured to re-animate the courage of his troops by an harangue. He told them, " that he was aware how many reverses the 7th *corps d'armée* had experienced; that he was come to repair those misfortunes, by putting himself at their head, in order to repulse the enemy beyond the Elbe; that the project of the Prussians was to seize on Saxony, but that he would still protect it in concert with the King, his faithful ally; that every one was at liberty to quit the service, who was no longer inclined to further his cause, and that the superior officers should express his sentiments to all who were at too great a distance to hear him, &c. &c."

This discourse was without effect. It was longer than those which the soldiers had been accustomed to hear on like occasions; he pronounced it in a drawling manner, correcting himself by repetitions. He was no longer recognized in this tone; in it was perceived the constraint of an unfortunate situation, to which he

was a stranger, and which obliged him to lavish vain words. To add to his misfortune, his oration was translated, by the grand equerry, Caulincourt, into worse German than ordinary, to all the generals and officers of that nation, drawn up in front of their respective regiments. The Saxon troops, who knew the sad situation of their corps, and the calamities which bore upon their country, were now but little disposed to fight with energy for the interests of Napoleon. Their ill will had already begun to appear in the most decided manner; the prerogatives which the French daily arrogated to themselves, on every march, supplied new fuel for general indignation. The strictest discipline had hitherto kept this body united to the French; but so many circumstances, which did violence to their self-love, and the seducing prospect of contributing to deliver Germany from the French yoke, determined them, nine days later, to quit the ranks of the French army, during the battle of Leipsic, and to join the Allied Powers.

The French troops of the 7th corps were also solemnly harangued; promotions were made in it, and decorations distributed. Such allurements

were still able to make an impression on the French, too susceptible of vain glory; it was, besides, indifferent to them, if they perished on the banks of the Niemen or the Rhine. But neither promises nor praises could efface in the breasts of those Germans, capable of pity, the image of the sufferings which they had had, for two years past, every where in their view, and which affected those whom the ties of nature rendered dearest to them. Discontent was depicted on the countenance of many. The unfortunate situation of affairs was better known to the army than at head-quarters, where the prejudice, which still continued to magnify the idea of Napoleon's ability, fettered the understandings of the greater part of those who surrounded him, or contributed to retain them in their error.

We have remarked, that military and theatrical scenes, of the kind we have just mentioned, were always the forerunners of some enterprise; also, that when during the march Napoleon shrunk himself up in a corner of his carriage, one might be certain that some abortive attempt had excited his ill humour. The first mentioned prognos-

tic was realized on the 2d, 9th, and 10th of October. He hoped to have surprised Field-Marshal Blucher, and to have struck some important blow in his quarter; but at the approach of the grand army, the latter retired on the right bank of the Saale, towards Zerbig. The news of this movement might reach Napoleon whilst he was yet at Eilenbourg. He caused all his cavalry to defile before him, the cuirassiers of which were reduced at least one-half: full of vexation and ill-humour, he shut himself up in his carriage, and went to Duben. Those three days, namely, (from the 11th to the 14th, in the morning,) during which he remained at the little castle, surrounded by water, were, perhaps, the most tiresome he had passed for some campaigns. There was no military, no geographical object to afford him the smallest occupation; and those about him were in the greatest embarrassment, not knowing what to do to tranquillize him\*.

On the 10th, several *corps d'armée* had already advanced towards the Elbe in various directions,

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\* I myself saw the Emperor at this period, when he was waiting for news from the Elbe, totally disengaged, seated on a sofa in his room, near a large table; before him lay a sheet of white paper, on which he was scrawling large letters; his geo-

and particularly towards Wittenberg and Dessau. Marshal Ney, who took possession of the last mentioned town, according to the French account, made eighty-five Cossacks prisoners there ; it was added that the remainder had been driven into the Mulde. Another *corps d'armée* had passed the Elbe near Wittenberg, and had made demonstrations on the right bank. Napoleon testified some surprise, on learning that the army of the Prince Royal of Sweden had put itself in motion beyond the Mulde, below Dessau, from Radegast, towards Achen upon the Elbe ; he conceived that the object of this march was to cover Berlin. An attack on that side, which was defenceless, doubtless would have spread terror and confusion for the moment in Berlin, but could not, however, have produced any result for the preservation of the French army. Napoleon would have removed too far from the army of the King of Naples, which kept retiring upon Leipsic, and have left it at the discretion of the principal army of the Allies. There was as much difficulty to

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grapher, d'Albe, and another fellow-labourer, remained in a corner of the apartment, equally unoccupied with himself, waiting for his orders. Such moments of his life deserve to be remarked, on account of their rare occurrence.

reach Hamburg from Berlin, unless those considerable garrisons had been withdrawn which occupied the places bordering upon the Elbe, the communication with these was continually cut off by a swarm of the enemy's troops. But Napoleon could not, as we have remarked, bear the idea of abandoning the Elbe ; that would be his *point d'appui* when he had gained a battle. No other resource remained for him than to keep his forces always concentrated under his own and the King of Naples' orders, and to risk some decisive blows. During these three days he had driven the enemy from the ground situated between the Mulde and the Elbe, from Torgau, beyond Dessau, and had pushed some light troops forward on the right bank of the Elbe, who might probably create some uneasiness, with respect to Berlin. In the sequel of these operations all the troops marched incessantly through the little town of Duben, which had already suffered much in the preceding engagements that it had witnessed. This swarm of soldiers exhausted that miserable country to the last extremity. Every thing appeared to be directed towards Leipsic, but no certain consequence could be inferred from these perpetual

marches and countermarches. The grand day was approaching, when the new political existence of Europe was about to be decided on the plains of Leipsic. Napoleon thought he was nearly secure on the northern and eastern sides. The army of King Joachim had retired through Rochlitz, approaching Leipsic, and was briskly harassed on the 14th of October, the anniversary of the battle of Jena. Napoleon set out early in the morning from Duben; he had sent the rest of his cavalry in advance, and came about noon to Leipsic, where he had resolved to establish his headquarters, either in a suburb, or at Pfafendorff, which is close to the city, on the Duben road. In the mean time, the light troops of the enemy were making incursions in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, and the reports which Buonaparte received probably contributed to make him change his plan. He made the circuit of the city, without entering it, and repaired to the road which leads from the suburb of Grimma to Wurzen and Dresden, at that moment when the smoke of the cannonade was descried from Liebertwolkwitz, which indicated the sad situation of King Joachim; the latter had been vigorously attacked near Magdeborn, beyond

**Liebertwolkwitz.** The King of Naples, as well as many of the French, convinced of the weakness of the cavalry, which became continually more perceptible, confided in six regiments of the old troops of that arm, whose valour was approved, and which had just arrived from Spain, under the command of Marshal Augereau. The King, with his ordinary boldness, put himself at their head, and wished to overthrow the brave Russian and Prussian combined cavalry. Indeed, accompanied by a small escort, he exposed his own person in such a manner, that an enemy's squadron, recognising him by his splendid dress and the party which attended him, gave him chase. An officer at the head of the squadron, eagerly pursued the King, who, at the moment that his escort faced about, found himself in the rear, accompanied by a single horseman. In the enticing hope of making him prisoner, the officer, who was pursuing him with the greatest celerity, several times called out, "Stop, King! stop!" At that moment his crown was in danger. The officer had already received a cut from the dragoon, and as he would not desist from his purpose the latter thrust his sabre through his body. He fell



dead\*, and the next day his horse was mounted by the faithful servant above-mentioned, from whose own mouth I have this relation, which has also been confirmed to me by other persons. The King made him his equerry on the spot, and promised him a pension from the city of Naples; Napoleon gave him the decoration of the Legion of Honour.

The personal devotion of the King was as useless as the experience of the veteran regiments from Spain. In this terrible affair they were so dispersed and cut to pieces by the superiority of the Russian and Prussian cavalry, that with them perished the new hope of Napoleon; their existence was not even observed, so soon were they destroyed †.

\* By comparison of several circumstances, the distance of the place where a dead Prussian cavalry officer was found, and the personal description I received of him, the brave young man who pursued the King was a lieutenant, of the name of De Leppe, belonging to the 1st regiment of Neumark dragoons, if the information I obtained be correct. Besides this lieutenant, Major de Waldow, Captain de Waldow, and Lieutenant B. Richtofen, of the same regiment, perished in this affair.

† In order to have a general idea of what passed in the memorable days which followed, I recommend to the indulgent readers of my Narrative the neat little map of the environs of Leipsic, for which we are indebted to Major Aster, formerly in the Saxon service. Its title is, *The Circle of Leipsic, with the*

While these affairs were passing near Liebertwolkwitz and Wachau, Napoleon had stopped in the open country, to the left of the great road leading from Eilenbourg and Wurzen.

From the thunder of the artillery, and the reports which reached him, he made arrangements, as well as he could, for the grand catastrophe which was about to take place at Leipsic, the centre of continental commerce. His breakfast was brought, and while he was dreaming of new schemes upon the map, the King of Saxony arrived with his wife and daughter, followed by some carriages. The King mounted his horse, Napoleon went on foot to the queen's carriage, and perhaps said something to remove her fears concerning the noise of the cannon, which was heard close at hand. Such an assurance could but increase her alarm, since it proceeded from the mouth of a man against whom all the world were waging hostilities, in the bosom of a country so pacific.

The royal family entered the city, and Napo-

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*Bailiffwicks of Skeuditz and Lutzen*, published in 1813, by the assignees of Schreiber. This map, founded upon exact data, with the exception of a few trifling particulars, is excellent for a general view.

leon remained in the open field\*, until the cessation of the cannonade announced the end of that day's engagement, which was but the prelude of the granddecisive battle.

His quarters had been prepared in the summer-house of Mr. Vetter, at the village of Reudnitz, which is on the road above-mentioned, and close to the city. Here all those who composed the imperial household were huddled together, several of the neighbouring houses being half pillaged.

On the 15th of October, early in the morning, the King of Naples arrived at the Emperor's quarters, and gave him an account of the affair which had taken place on the preceding day. Towards noon both mounted their horses, and proceeded to Liebertwolkwitz, on the road to Lausigt and Rochlitz. On the right of that village, leaving Leipsic, is an inconsiderable eminence, but rather remarkable, compared with the surrounding country; this eminence forms an angle nearly of four degrees, and extends itself, in a ridge of moderate elevation, almost without interruption, within a short distance of the bed of the

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\* Not, as many wicked wags have reported, near the gallows, but on the other side of the road.

river Pleiss, at Delitz. This hill commands the neighbourhood within shot of heavy artillery. On the left side of Liebertwolkwitz, a much more considerable and steeper hill rises, insulated, and generally called the Swedish Redoubt. Napoleon repaired to the first of these two heights. From that point he gave the necessary orders for the battle of the following day, after having passed several hours at the watch-fire, conversing with Berthier, the King of Naples, and other marshals. It appears that the reports which had been received were not sufficient to ascertain if the grand army of the Allies had really beaten the King of Naples. From that post a flag of truce was sent to the enemies' advanced posts, announcing that the Prince of Neufchatel wished to speak to the Prince of Schwartzenberg. The flag of truce was not received; he is said to have returned with this laconic answer, "that the Prince of Schwartzenberg was not there, and it was then no time for negotiation."

The troops were in sight of each other; the advanced posts were only a musket-shot distant; nevertheless, the great masses of the allied army were not discernible. One of the enemy's generals

was observing the position of the French army, from the small eminence extending towards Gossa ; all was tranquil, no attack took place on either side.

In the afternoon Napoleon mounted his horse, and repaired to the quarters of Prince Poniatowsky, who commanded his own *corps d'armée*, with the right wing, which rested on Doelitz and Markleeberg. Napoleon caused all the points on the Pleiss, where bridges might be established, to be pointed out to him, with every peculiarity of that marshy ground, interspersed with meadows and bushes. Afterwards he repaired to the line, in the direction of Lieberwolkwitz. The corps of Marshals Victor and Augereau were in the centre under the immediate orders of the King of Naples. The corps of General Lauriston was posted near Liebertwolkwitz, forming a hook, in the direction of Zuckelhausen, and resting on the village of Liebertwolkwitz.

Here a military solemnity took place. Three regiments received at the same time new eagles, with the ceremony which has already been related\*. Berthier, Caulincourt, and one of the marshals, stood godfathers to these children devoted to the

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\* See Vol. I. page 186.

shower of balls they were to receive on the following day. Everything portended a battle. Napoleon returned through Zuckelhausen and Zweinaundorf, to Reudnitz, where the other wing of his army extended. The corps of Marshals Ney, Marmont, and General Regnier, those of Marshals MacDonald and Oudinot, *viz.*, the 3d, 6th, 7th, 11th, and 12th, had not yet come up. I do not know if the 12th corps, commanded by Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, took a share in the battle of Leipsic. Besides those of which we have spoken, the 2d corps, commanded by Marshal Victor; the 4th, under the orders of General Bertrand, which was afterwards employed in covering the retreat; the 5th, commanded by General Lauriston; the 8th, by Prince Poniatowsky, fought on the following days. As well as I can remember, the 9th, 10th, and 13th, had not been renewed during the campaign. The 1st, commanded primarily by Vandamme, and afterwards by Count Lobau, as well as the 14th, under the orders of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, remained behind for the defence of Dresden.

It excited much surprise, that Napoleon should have concentrated his forces in so disadvantageous a position, and that he should have ac-

cepted a decisive battle on the eastern side of the plains of Leipsic, having in his rear the city and marshy grounds, divided by numerous canals, over which there were but few bridges. In case of a reverse he plunged himself in the midst of a thousand difficulties, there being several roads for entering the city, and but one for leaving it. But let it be considered, that the choice of the field of battle was no longer his, and that the skill of the Allies had forced him to take up that position. If he had placed himself beyond the Parthe, the Elster, the Pleiss, and the Luppe, he would have found himself in the midst of immense plains, where the enemy's cavalry might annoy his army, by surrounding it. In this case he must have abandoned Leipsic, a city on which he set so much value, especially since it had become the asylum of the Sovereign. It is well known that his obstinacy would not allow him to yield an inch of ground without being forced; and, in this case, he would have been obliged to abandon the whole province, and retreat behind the Saale.

It is true, that he might have secured his retreat, by establishing bridges, and taking all the

precautionary measures to which he had been accustomed during this war; but it may be supposed that he deceived himself, that he thought till the last "every thing to be possible;" that his retreat would be more easy in passing through a city, watered by so many rivers, and that he would be very secure in it, by means of his infantry. I cannot, indeed, be persuaded, that Napoleon would have accepted a battle on the eastern side of Leipsic, had he been apprized of the armies which threatened the rear of his position. On the night of the 15th of October, he was not aware if the enemy would advance from the side of Mersebourg, or what were his numbers; neither did he know whether there were considerable masses on that side, or only light troops. He was in the greatest embarrassment. At the same time he was not informed of the march of the armies commanded by General Benningsen until it was too late to form any other plan. Finally, the following particulars will be sufficient to shew, that Napoleon would not have fought on the 18th of October, if the choice had been in his power.

On the 16th of October, early in the morning, he repaired to the position which he had visited



on the preceding day. The King of Naples received him on the same heights near Liebertwolkwitz. Napoleon, having alighted, observed for some moments with the little opera-glass which he always had with him, the manner in which the enemy's columns drawn up for the attack were formed, and towards which the King of Naples had excited his attention. The horses were brought. Napoleon with his suite slowly withdrew from the hill, and at that instant (nine o'clock by my watch) three guns, fired at regular intervals, announced on the side of the Allies the beginning of the battle. The balls flew over the Emperor's suite, and occasioned the regiments of cuirassiers in the rear and the imperial guard some loss. A cannonade of unexampled fury was heard on both sides all along the line, and continued for five hours without intermission, in such a manner that the earth literally shook. The veteran French soldiers affirmed that they never had witnessed so concentrated a fire. From the beginning of the action the Russians and Austrians attacked with courage and ardour, under the orders of Klenau, Kleist and Prince Eugene de Wurtemberg; they took possession of Liebertwolkwitz,

Wachau, and Markkleeberg, and made the whole French line draw back. Napoleon found himself obliged to retire a little with his guard\*, and several soldiers who were near him fell victims to the dreadful shower of bullets. The greatest coolness and tranquillity reigned as far as his influence could extend. A little ground had been lost; Marshal Victor's *corps d'armée* had been obliged to yield to the attacks of Klenau, and to abandon to the latter for the moment Liebertwolkwitz. But the Duke of Tarentum, Macdonald, advanced at the same time, coming from Holzhausen, and marched directly towards the Swedish redoubt, one of the principal points of the position. Napoleon directed, through the medium of his adjutants, the fire of the artillery placed on the heights of Liebertwolkwitz, and these villages were re-taken.

The artillery thundered in the centre, and the fire of musketry was continually kept up on the two wings. Two French columns advanced from Wachau, towards Gossa and Crœbern, but they met with such resistance that they were obliged to retire. About three o'clock Macdonald advanc-

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\* Near the sheep-walk of Meusdorf.

ed from the extremity of the left wing, to the place whence, according to the order of battle on the preceding day, near Zuckelhausen, in form of a hook, the enemy's position had been observed. This general caused the Swedish redoubt to be carried at the point of the bayonet. This was doubtless, a decided advantage. Napoleon appeared serene and contented ; he had already informed the King of Saxony, " that the battle had " begun, at the moment when the enemy was " about to debouch ; that we had made 2,000 " prisoners; that the cannonade was continued " because appearances were favourable." When the redoubt was in his power, he again sent to the King, to inform him " that all was going " on well ; that we had taken some villages and " heights." A short time after he added, " Let " the bells in the city and its environs be rung, in " order to acquaint the whole army with our " success."

Napoleon was still in rear of the centre, near Meusdorf. At that moment, he caused fifty pieces of cannon, belonging to the reserve artillery of the young guard, to advance towards the first line, on the right of Liebertwolkwitz, where the

King of Naples commanded. This artillery, which, according to the affirmation of the French, had struck the decisive blow in all the preceding battles, once more shook the ground ; the enemy's return to this fire appeared to become weaker and weaker. Then Napoleon repaired to that commanding point, whence he perceived the enemy's lines drawn up in the best order and immoveable composure. The right wing of the enemy rested on the wood of the university, and the left on the causeway of Borna, behind Wachau. The French lines extended, on that side, from Liebertwolkwitz to Markkleeberg. On a sudden a furious attack commenced on the last-mentioned village, upon the right flank. It was so warm, and was carried on in the midst of such dreadful cries, that Napoleon was struck with it, and again retired some hundred paces, to the place where the old guard was posted, which was obliged to make a manœuvre, in order to form large squares, their front turned towards Markkleeberg. Prince Poniatowsky sustained the attack with firmness ; Napoleon resumed his tranquillity ; he was informed of the capture of many Austrian prisoners of the Somariva

regiment of body guards, which had been surrounded in that affair.

In the mean time, the struggle still continued round the village of Markkleeberg; the attacks on that side were perpetually renewed. It became necessary to send considerable reinforcements thither, in order to retain possession of the village. At night-fall, after a most tremendous fire of nine hours, the extreme left of the French army rested, as it had done some hours before, on the Swedish redoubt, the centre on the height near Wachau, and the right wing at Markkleeberg. The position of the Allies was almost parallel to that of the French, except that the centre of the former, placed in front of Guldengossa, seemed rather to form a salient angle. The King of Naples passed the night at Wachau; Napoleon established his bivouac in a dried up fish-pond, near the old tile manufactory, at a short distance from the road leading to Rochlitz; as usual, his five tents were pitched on that spot, and the guard encamped round him. Before he had chosen this situation, General Meerfeld, who had just been made prisoner, was brought before him. Napoleon con-

versed with him for some time in the most affable manner. In the night, this same general was called by the Emperor, who despatched him on a mission to the Austrian head-quarters, whence he returned on the following morning. Napoleon passed a very uneasy night. Nansouty and other generals were called while he was in bed. The artillery continued to fire from time to time, till an advanced period of the night, upon the right wing; and it was uncertain if other attacks had not taken place in the neighbourhood of Markkleeberg. All were waiting in the greatest anxiety, which was still augmented by the want of news from the side of Leipsic. Eutritzsch, and Schœnfeld, where Marshal Marmont's corps was, had already been assailed, and a renewal of the attack was expected on the following day. Some information had been received concerning the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden; nevertheless, in spite of such unfavourable prospects, Napoleon could not resolve to quit the field of battle in the engagement of the 17th of October. He looked upon the battle of the 16th as gained; and, indeed, the French might call themselves victorious on Marshal Macdonald's side; if, in order to be so, it was

sufficient to have advanced a wing of the army for the space of half a league, and to have purchased the advantage of maintaining their first position by a loss of artillery and men, equal to that of the enemy, and probably greater. But he had caused his pretended triumph to be celebrated by the ringing of bells, and all possible demonstrations of joy. Greater results appeared, therefore, justly to be expected, in spite of the insurmountable obstacles which he encountered in his position, and the peculiarities of the country ; for, by advancing only a few leagues, he would have drawn swarms of enemies upon his rear. If, on the day subsequent to the battle, he had abandoned the scene of his imaginary victory, every one would have said he was beaten. To advance was not less difficult. Ammunition began to fail, and the troops experienced a dearth of provisions, which, with the exception of a few potatoes, became every day scarcer in the country occupied by the enemy. By advancing, Napoleon would have exposed Leipsic, which might have been taken and spoiled.

On Sunday, therefore, the 17th of October, he obstinately determined not to quit his position,

lest he should appear to be conquered. It was sufficient that he remained master of the field of battle during a whole day, to justify a retreat in the eyes of his nation and army; that retreat might be attributed, in the sequel, to some plausible motive. All the dispositions and preparations at head-quarters, indicated the Emperor's intentions to retreat\*.

The King of Naples waited on him early in the morning, remained with him for a long time, and assured him, possibly by way of consolation, perhaps at the same time with truth, that the enemy had sustained immense loss. They were both very serious and pensive; they walked for half an hour along the dykes. Napoleon appeared constantly much absorbed; he again shut himself

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\* If Napoleon entertained no other intention than to unite his forces, in order to parry the blow with which he was threatened, by the increase of the enemy's force, I do not think that the nature of the ground sufficiently favoured his views and efforts to secure, in the first place, the road through Weissenfels, which endeavour, at least, shewed that he feared he should be forced to retreat. It may be thought that Napoleon, by concentrating his forces, might, by dispositions emanating immediately from him, have manœuvred with greater facility, broken the enemy's centre, &c. &c. At the same time, it must not be forgotten, that the failure of ammunition in a battle, which lasted several days, might have become fatal.



up in his tent ; the King appeared on horseback before his troops ; towards the evening melancholy was seen depicted on all countenances at headquarters. It was said that an unfavourable construction could not possibly be put on the retreat of the army, the bad weather and many other vexatious circumstances, opposing evident obstacles to the operations. The rain was pouring down upon the wretches who were encamped ; a gloomy silence reigned around the bivouac of the Emperor ; the grand equerry inquired the time when the moon would rise, in order to recommend the dispositions for the remainder of the night. The other persons about Buonaparte were visibly in consternation. An equerry of the King of Naples was sent to re-establish the headquarters of that prince at Zuckelhausen, where they had been two days before.

All these circumstances indicated a departure, which actually took place on the 18th of October, at two o'clock in the morning. The *chasseur du portefeuille* was called, and in the space of ten minutes set off. What was styled the inferior household had set out for Stœtteritz since eleven o'clock. Napoleon got into his carriage, and calmly, but

with a serious countenance, quitted his bivouac. It was of importance to observe the point of junction of the two roads of Rochlitz and Grimma ; he stopped his carriage for an instant, but the darkness of the night prevented him from seeing around him. The road swarmed with troops and artillery on the retreat. Napoleon could hardly proceed. About two hundred empty chariots, which could not be brought off, were burnt by the road-side ; the small quantity of ammunition which was left in some blew up ; at a distance the cause of the explosion was unknown, consequently, they could not imagine what had happened. Napoleon came to Reudnitz, where he alighted at Marshal Ney's quarters, at the same house which he himself had formerly occupied. The marshal and his suite were in a profound sleep. The Emperor remained at Reudnitz till about five o'clock, made the circuit of the town, and went to Lindenau, where General Bertrand was stationed. He examined the bridge and the neighbourhood, where two days before the corps of that general had been attacked. Napoleon ordered Bertrand to repair to Weissenfels, and returned across the suburbs to

Stötteritz, by the same road, sometimes on horseback and sometimes in his carriage ; it was nearly eight o'clock, the guard had arrived in the neighbourhood. Napoleon breakfasted in a farm-house, but the roaring of the cannon, heard on all sides, which became continually louder and louder, put all the officers, at head-quarters, in motion. The heavy artillery thundered incessantly in the direction of Markkleeberg, Döelitz, and Liebertwolkwitz. The Swedish redoubt had been abandoned by the French on the preceding night, and the King of Naples had posted himself in front of Probstheyde, with the corps of Victor and Augereau. At the beginning of the action he sent a message to Napoleon for a reinforcement, which became necessary, to resist the superior force which was advancing against him ; the Allies endeavoured, at the same time, to force the passage over the Pleiss, near Döelitz, Lœsnig, and Connewitz. Napoleon repaired thither on horseback, and stopped near the snuff manufactory ; there the grand and decisive engagement began, that was to tear from his brow the laurel crown of conquest, with which Fortune had invested it.

He found himself by the side of a half-ruined wind-mill, a neighbouring object which afforded but a melancholy omen.

Then the battle became general, the Allies advancing with still increasing courage; huge masses of troops penetrated on all sides, and of all the roads to Leipsic, that which leads to Weissenfels alone was open; since eleven o'clock the troops had been fighting in the neighbourhood of Sallerhausen, on the Dresden road. The most violent attacks had been directed from Zweinaundorf, Zuckelhausen, and Liebertwolkwitz, against Støtteritz and Probstheyde; the Austrians, and afterwards the Russians, advanced from Wachau and Døelitz, with fresh forces, and fresh pieces of artillery; the road to Pegau and the woods of Rosenthal were covered with the enemy's light troops; and the army of the Prince Royal of Sweden advanced from Radefeld and Britenfeld, towards the Eilenburg road, where Ney and Regnier were posted. On that side of the army where the Emperor was, Macdonald and Lauriston had the command of the left wing, near Probstheyde; Victor and Augereau were in

the centre, Prince Poniatowsky\* commanded the right wing, near Dœlitz; the old guard and a part of the young were employed as a reinforcement, these brave men were picked out for the purpose of manœuvring. One of the suburbs of Leipsic was in flames, shells were flying into the city, even as far as the square, and into the very house occupied by the King. The villages of Schœnfeld, Stetteritz, Delitz, and Liebertwolkwitz, were on fire. The fog and smoke would hardly allow the neighbouring objects to be seen, but at length the mist dispersed, and the day became clear and fine. Although marches and privations had overwhelmed the French with hunger and fatigue; although they were in rags, they still fought with perseverance; and particularly on that part of the field where Napoleon was cut off on all sides, they had principally to struggle against the superiority of a tremendous artillery; some thousands of deserters filled the city, but no open flight was seen. Prince Poniatowsky had the most difficult point to defend, but he fully justified, by his

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\* This general, able as he was brave, had been appointed a marshal of France, by Napoleon, on the 16th of October.

boundless courage, the high confidence which the Emperor had reposed in him. His little corps of infantry, reduced to 5,000, and, at last, to 2,700 men, performed prodigies of valour. In the actions near Leipsic, fifteen officers of his staff were either killed or wounded. This courage was the more remarkable in the Poles, because they could no longer suppose that Napoleon would become the restorer of their nation.

At the beginning of the battle the Emperor had stopped, during an hour, on the right wing; he afterwards went towards Probstheyde and the foremost lines, to judge with his own eyes of the state of things, and to re-animate the courage of the troops. He made his appearance at the moment when the Allies were advancing with an imposing force, and debouching from Zuckelhausen and Holzhausen, were taking possession of a part of Probstheyde. The led horses, the wounded, and every useless appendage, retired in a body. Napoleon pushed on with the greatest celerity, towards the most advanced ranks, filled up the vacancies with the reserve of his old guard, and returned to his windmill, where he remained the greater part of the day. The brave King of

Naples, the support and shield of Buonaparte, held firm against all attacks; as often as the village of Probstheyde, the centre of this sanguinary struggle, was carried by the enemy, so often that Prince caused it to be re-captured by main force. On the 16th, all the points of the position had been favourable to the French; but, on the 17th, the Allies occupied several eminences, which, although of moderate height, commanded the field of battle. From these heights a concentrated fire might be opened on the French army. There the enemy's artillery produced the most terrible effects. On that spot alone, where Napoleon was, in a short time more than a dozen guns were disabled, and some thousands of wounded sent into the city. After six or seven hours of a most dreadful fire, the French began to perceive that their ammunition failed. Buonaparte, perhaps, for the first time since he had made war, ordered that it should be spared.

An adjutant of General Regnier had informed the Emperor, even before noon, that a part of the Saxon artillery and cavalry had passed over to the enemy; about three o'clock he was apprized that the infantry had also quitted the French ranks.

But these occurrences were kept very secret, and those who were nearest to Napoleon alone were informed of them. He ordered his horse to be immediately brought to him ; no one knew what he was meditating. The attacks against Probstheyde were still continued. Then Napoleon directed himself towards the left, across the fields, in order to reach Reudnitz, and the neighbourhood of Strassenhaus on the road to Wurzen. There he found Ney and Regnier, whose dumb shew, signs, and gesticulations, pointed out that the enemy's lines were on the plain, between Paunsdorf and Schœnfeld, and shewed him too plainly, that fortune was betraying all their exertions.

Napoleon did not stop long in that place, but returned to the central point, the preservation of which was so necessary to him. A detachment of the old guard came, by forced marches, to meet him, in order to fill up the vacancy which the defection of the Saxons had occasioned. General Nansouty, in the mean time, protected, with a part of the cavalry belonging to the guard, the weak side towards Mœlkau and Strinz, on which a strong line of the enemy's cavalry had ad-



vanced. Up to that moment Napoleon had exhibited the greatest composure, always equal to himself. During the battle he remained nearly as usual, cool, reflecting, and collected. Even this reverse occasioned no change in his deportment, although some symptoms of discouragement had been observed in his countenance. He went towards the King of Naples, whom the most violent attacks had not been able to repulse; they conversed for some time in private; and, after having, by the advice of that Prince, sent a reinforcement of artillery towards Döesen, he caused a bivouac fire to be lighted, near the windmill. The day closed, but the cannonade was continued to an advanced period of the night. The right wing, near Connewitz and Döelitz, had preserved nearly the same positions since the morning, but much ground had been lost between Stetteritz and Schöenfeld. I do not stay to relate the battle given by Field-marshal Blücher to Marmont, in the neighbourhood of Möckern, as that may be considered as independent of the grand engagement. The number of French combatants may be rated at 160 or 170,000 men, that of their opponents doubtless more than doubled this

estimate; so that half a million of men, or even more, assisted at this scene of carnage. What a battle ! The vast extent of the ground on which it was fought does not allow us to calculate, with precision, the losses of that day. At least, it would be necessary to have recourse to the most authentic sources to form a calculation of them. But the loss of the French must have been immense, were it only on account of the disadvantage of the ground, and the violence of the attacks. Among the distinguished officers who were killed, or died shortly after in consequence of their wounds, I have been informed, were Generals Delmas, Daubry, Frederic, and Rochembeau. There were a great number wounded.

Napoleon, preparing for the retreat, had ordered the whole of the baggage to set out for the city in the morning : this produced a terrible confusion ; almost every gate was blocked up, for all entered by four ways at once, and there was but one place of egress, to which the whole flocked.

There were no bridges on either side of the city; consequently, the Elster could neither be passed higher up nor lower down ; the confusion was still further augmented, by the continual

influx of carriages, wounded, fugitives, and troops.

It was night ; the muttering thunder of the artillery ceased, some reports of musketry alone were heard. The earth and heavens were gradually lighted up by the fires, which appeared to issue from the bowels of the earth. Napoleon had already communicated to Prince Berthier his intention of retreating, who delivered the order to some adjutants, with his usual brevity, by the side of a watch-fire. Around him reigned a deep silence. Sorbier and Dulauloy, generals of artillery, affirmed, that the battle might have been renewed, if 30 or 40,000 fresh troops, and some hundreds of ammunition waggons, could have been brought up ; but the French had neither the one nor the other \*. A bench was brought to the Emperor, on which he threw himself, oppressed with sleep, and exhausted by the efforts of the preceding day. His hands were placed, folded negligently, upon his breast. At that moment, he appeared merely like any other man, borne down by the

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\* It is reported, that during the battle, 200,000 cannon-shot were fired by the French ; a fresh proof how many shots miss their effect.

weight of misfortune. The generals preserved a mournful silence; and, at some distance, the report of cannon, and the noise of retreating troops, might be heard. At the end of a quarter of an hour Napoleon awoke, and threw an astonished look on the circle which surrounded him, as if he would have said—"Do I really wake, or is this but a dream?" However, he immediately recovered himself, and directed, at the same moment, an officer to repair to the King of Saxony, to acquaint him with what was passing, and that he could not pay him a visit on that day. During the whole day, Napoleon had nothing satisfactory to inform the King; he was, therefore, satisfied with sending him, towards noon, a single message. Besides, the battle had drawn so near about the city, that the King, from the top of a tower, could easily observe the progress of the different occurrences.

In the sequel, Napoleon left the King at liberty to follow him, or remain behind; but as this unfortunate sovereign determined, in the hard situation in which he was placed, to embrace the measure of staying, it remained only for Buonaparte to send him word by a third person,

which he did, that he was at liberty to conclude a peace with his enemies, on the best conditions he could obtain ; but that he begged him to take care of his wounded. Napoleon, afterwards, suffered the few Saxon troops, which remained, including the battalion of body guards, who did duty with the imperial guard, to return to the King. All this took place on the 19th of October.

A mild and temperate being can form no idea of the furious emotions which must agitate the soul of such a man as Buonaparte, when he sees the edifice of his fortune and his glory crumbling into ruins. Napoleon had already found himself in critical situations ; in Egypt, in Russia, he had sustained reverses ; but an unshaken confidence in his genius and his good fortune, had raised him superior to every accident. The resources which he still had left to repair his fortune on those occasions, were constantly in his mind, even at the moment when the blow of fate assailed him. The hope of astonishing the world with new successes only accelerated the flight of his conceptions for fresh enterprises. Till then he had been able to ascribe all his reverses to un-

usual causes, to an inevitable fatality. But at this period the French leader was, for the first time in his life, beaten under the eyes, and in the centre, of civilized Europe; it became, therefore, more difficult than ever, to form an excuse for his retreat, and impose silence on a nation, who saw her own hearths threatened by victorious armies. In a word, he had just lost a decisive battle, he was drawing the enemy towards the interior of France; a sacred territory, which had remained untouched under its own government, at a time when reinforcements, or succour of any description, could hardly have been expected from an exhausted people. Could he even have found excuses and turns, to give a colour to this great reverse, it was not after such a day as this, that he could taste consolation; and the sentiment of shame, which was the uppermost of his feelings, rendered his inward trouble visible.

Buonaparte remained until eight o'clock at his bivouac. His head-quarters were at first established in a building at the Thunberg; but, as all the houses in the neighbourhood became very inconvenient, through the conflux of the wounded, he could not remain there, and went to the Prus-

sian hotel, in the Horse-market. How capricious is Fortune! That this should be the *Prussian* hote which now received him disarmed, and that he should be obliged to leave it, in order to save himself by flight.

Napoleon was engaged, to an advanced period of the night, with the Duke of Bassano, the grand equerry, and Berthier. He gave orders that every thing should be kept prepared for departure, and the horses had been in readiness before two o'clock. The carriages, and all that related to the Emperor's service, were ready at Lindenau.

On the 19th of October, the retreat of Napoleon from Leipsic was effected, between break of day and eleven o'clock in the forenoon. He was sometimes seen busily employed, sometimes in his morning-dress at the window; the passage of the French troops through the suburbs continued incessantly. About half-past eight, the report of cannon was heard on the side of the suburb of Grimma. Towards nine, Napoleon mounted his horse, and ordered his attendants to lead the way through the gate of Grimma, to the residence of the King. He alighted: the King received him with the accustomed etiquette, and con-

ducted him into his apartment, where the Queen also was present. The suite remained in the ante-chamber. Some Saxon and Baden troops were drawn up in the market-square. After a conversation which lasted a long quarter of an hour, in which the Emperor, doubtless, assured the King of the great concern and anxious desire which he entertained of being in a situation to afford him more effectual assistance, he quitted him, and the King accompanied him, according to the etiquette of court, to the staircase.

From the moment that Napoleon mounted his horse, till he quitted Leipsic altogether, he appeared constantly pensive and absorbed, nay, almost thunderstruck ; or, perhaps, he was not able to turn his thoughts to any thing.

He proceeded towards the centre of the gate of Rannstadt, took the direction of the market-place, and, finding every thing encumbered there, owing to the extraordinary number of troops and carriages, he turned his horse's head towards the centre of the city, passed in front of two gates, which were already barricadoed, and the church of St. Thomas, to reach St. Peter's-gate. There he looked round him for a moment, and galloped once



more to his head-quarters, at the Horse-market, or rather along the walk, as far as the quarter of the city-school. The attack had already become very warm on that side, and the balls were flying about. The corps of Poniatowski and Lauriston formed the rear-guard, and had received orders to defend the suburbs from house to house. Napoleon wished, at first, to set them on fire, but he abandoned that idea; and it would, indeed, have been an act of useless mischief. He then returned, passed through St. Peter's-gate, and went round the city towards Rannstadt. He was scarcely able to penetrate through the incredible multitude of troops of all kinds. He and his suite were obliged to make their escape through by-ways from all this tumult \*. Ammunition waggons, sutlers, *gendarmes*, artillery, cows and sheep,

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\* Napoleon had an appearance of composure on his countenance when he quitted Leipsic, riding slowly through St. Peter's-gate, but he was bathed in sweat, a circumstance which might proceed from bodily exertion and mental disturbance combined. He proceeded a considerable distance towards the very quarter whence the enemy was advancing; but, at length recognising his error, he turned about. He inquired if there were any by-road to Borna and Altenberg; being answered in the negative, he took an obscure way through a garden to the outer Rannstadt-gate. Ed.

women, grenadiers, post-chaises, the sound, the wounded, and the dying, all crowded together, and pressed on in such confusion, that it was hardly possible to hope that the French could continue their march, much less be capable of defending themselves.

If the enemy had penetrated at that moment to the spot, not a single man could have escaped ; for the passage through the Rannstadt-gate, through which the whole were to file on the road to Lindenau, was so narrow, that there was hardly room for two foot soldiers to walk abreast by the side of the carriage. A bridge had been constructed over the Elster, near the place called the Judge's-garden, but it was too slightly built. After having served for a very short time, it broke down. This accident augmented the embarrassment and sad situation of those who remained behind, and perhaps occasioned the death of Prince Poniatowski, who threw himself into the Elster, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy \*.

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\* The fate of the gallant Prince Joseph Poniatowski, nephew to Stanislaus Augustus, the last king of Poland, will surely be commiserated by every noble mind. He drew his sword with the view of restoring his fallen country to her rank and independence

Napoleon followed very calmly the torrent of his flying army along the high road, as far as the back of Lindenau. There he made a halt, and employed several officers to point out to the fugi-

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among nations. The particulars of his death were thus detailed by his *aide-de-camp*: "On the memorable 19th of October, when the French army began to retreat, the Prince was charged by Napoleon with the defence of that part of the suburbs of Leipsic which lies nearest the Borna road. For this purpose he had only 2,000 Polish infantry assigned him. Perceiving the French columns on his left flank in full retreat, and the bridge completely choked up with their artillery and carriages, so that there was no possibility of getting over it, he drew his sabre, and turning to the officers who were about him, "Gentlemen," said he, "it is better to fall with honour." With these words he rushed, at the head of a few Polish cuirassiers and the officers surrounding him, upon the advancing columns of the Allies. He had been previously wounded on the 14th and 16th, and on this occasion also received a musket-ball in his left arm. He nevertheless pushed forward, but found the suburbs full of the allied troops, who hastened up to take him prisoner. He cut his way through them, received another wound, through his cross, threw himself into the Pleisse, and, with the assistance of his officers, reached the opposite bank in safety, leaving his horse behind in the river. Though much exhausted he mounted another, and proceeded to the Elster, which was already lined by Saxon and Prussian riflemen. Seeing them coming upon him on all sides, he plunged into the river, and instantly sunk, together with his horse. Several officers, who threw themselves in after him, were likewise drowned, and others were taken on the bank or in the water. The body of the Prince was found on the fifth day (October 24th,) and taken out of the water by a fisherman. He was dressed in his gala-uniform, the epaulets of which were

tives, who came up in the greatest disorder, the various points on which their corps were to assemble. These corps were on either side of the roads which lead to Weissenfels and Merseburg, and which cross upon this point. Buonaparte having succeeded in establishing some order, returned into the windmill, towards Lindenau, and remained in the first story. The fire upon the town became continually more brisk, the whizzing of shells was heard, and the report of all sorts of fire arms. At last the heavy artillery was no longer heard. Eleven o'clock had passed; some moments after the head-quarters pushed on to Markranstadt.

Probably this departure took place at the moment when the bridge of Lindenau, which Buonaparte had inspected the day before, was blown up. The circumstances of this occurrence, published

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studded with diamonds; his fingers were covered with rings set with brilliants, and his pockets contained snuff-boxes of great value, and other trinkets. Many of those articles were eagerly purchased by Polish officers who were made prisoners, evidently for the purpose of being transmitted to his family, so that the whole produced the fisherman a very considerable sum." For some corresponding circumstances, see M. Aubert de Vitry's Note at the end of this Volume. Ed.

in the French bulletins, have been ridiculed ; but I can affirm with the greatest impartiality, that one of the most intimate companions of Buonaparte, still labouring under a feeling of horror at the consequences which ensued, said, " That a  
" serjeant of the engineer corps had received an  
" order to blow up the bridge of Lindenau, after  
" the retreat of the troops had been completely  
" effected. But when the enemy penetrated with  
" such impetuosity into the city, and the noise  
" and hurrahs of the Swedes were heard, the  
" serjeant thought himself surrounded, and set  
" fire to the mine." It has been remarked, that a commission of so much importance is never confided to an inferior officer ; but it has also been replied to this objection, that the superior officer in charge of the operation was not present. The above confidential communication, derived from the best authority, a few hours after the occurrence, seems to prove that the statement itself is true. Besides, those who were cut off would have equally fallen into the hands of the enemy, without the occurrence of this accident ; the impossibility of retiring by any other means than the narrow

passage of a single gate, would have given them up to the Allies, who had every facility for passing the Elster on other points. The loss was immense; I do not think I exaggerate, if I rate at 25 or 30,000 men, the number of those who, in the action of the 19th, fell into the hands of the enemy at Leipsic. All the chariots and the guard had already passed over, but whole corps remained behind. These corps were very weak; they were infinitely increased by the soldiers who had straggled and who had joined them. All this body of men perished, or fell into the hands of the enemy. Among these, with many others, was the general of division, Regnier, who, although a pupil of the Revolution, had always followed, in spite of every difficulty, the path of honour. The death of Poniatowski, the news of which came the following day to head-quarters, excited the most lively interest. The reverses of the 19th produced in general a very unusual depression among the most zealous admirers of Napoleon. Without predicting the end of his brilliant career, or breaking out into invectives, it was looked upon as possible that, at the return of the army, the nation

herself would be disaffected towards her chief. Napoleon himself did not believe he had sustained so great a loss at Leipsic. Perhaps, as usual, the truth had been concealed from him ; for it is well known that he was averse to hearing of a great loss. False reports might be made the means of becoming agreeable to him. He himself said, some days after, “ I could have saved 6,000 “ men, if I had chosen to burn the suburbs of the “ city ; it was a right of war, but, nevertheless, “ I would not.”

An enormous quantity of artillery was lost at the battle, as well as the assault of Leipsic. The greater part, after that period, consisted of the 120 pieces belonging to the old guard, which were completely provided with ammunition. But the young guard had lost the major part of theirs at Leipsic, and if the subsequent losses are reckoned, it will be found that the French army had not more than 200 guns at the battle of Hanau, which was fought in order, as it were, to bid farewell to Germany. How many of those 1,300 pieces of cannon, of which the French boasted so much, after the armistice, did they lose ? The

battles of Katzbach and Culm alone cost nearly 200, without reckoning those which were left in the garrisons and fortified places.

The inn of Markranstadt received the whole of the imperial household, and that of the Prince of Neufchatel. Those who had no right to occupy a place in the small number of disposable rooms, retired to a barn. The troops, soured by misfortune, marched with a fierce and menacing air; the guard indulged in every kind of excess; the greater part of the soldiery was tormented by hunger and want; nearly the whole of the villages bordering on the line of march were pillaged. The superior officers neither could nor were inclined to re-establish order; they cared less about it than ever. Insubordination had attained its height; every one was pressed, and pressed in his turn; so that the march, which took place during the night, produced the greatest confusion. On the advance it is possible to march isolated, and precede the main body; but on the retreat, when every one is obliged to follow the same road, one is pressed on all sides, the corps and regiments are no longer united; and the disorder becomes general.



Napoleon, escorted by his old guard, quitted Markranstadt on the 20th of October, about three o'clock A.M. ; he was in his carriage, surrounded by the troops on the march ; their redoubled ranks would not allow him to proceed rapidly, and obliged him to stop from time to time. The night was dark ; the fugitive army was defended by posts of infantry, placed at a little distance in the rear ; the cavalry had been sent forward. The plains between Markersdorf and Rippach were very dangerous for him, since they afforded the enemy's cavalry fine opportunities to charge. On this account, when Napoleon arrived at the bivouac, close to Lutzen, where the French troops were posted to the right and left of the high road, he ordered a march to be beat, and a charge to be sounded, during the whole period of his stay in that place, in order to afford time to the different detachments to continue their march. The guard fires were kept up ; the drums and trumpets were heard, sometimes on one wing, sometimes on the other, probably for the purpose of awing the enemy's cavalry ; but no important movement took place.

At last, after having long waited in vain, and

after the King of Naples himself had mounted his horse, to restore order at the entrance of the town, where there was a dreadful crowd, Napoleon was enabled to continue his way, and to pass through Lutzen. That town received into her bosom, on his retreat, the man who, some months before, thought he had rendered her name illustrious by a brilliant victory. The blood-stained soil of the environs of Starsiedel and Kaia, saw him return, with an army famished, almost annihilated, and ready to disband itself; with that army, the heroic exploits of which were to have conducted him, at least beyond the Vistula.

The day began to dawn; Napoleon alighted, and considered, through his small telescope, the neighbouring eminences; and continued his way, pensive and silent, covered with his plain grey surtout, and followed by all his staff. The sight of that country called to mind the dreadful extent of his fall; even his warmest advocates felt it deeply, and could not refrain from exclaiming, with a sigh, "Behold that man! there he is, such as he was" on his retreat from Russia." The train might have been taken for a funeral procession. Each

individual who composed it marched, leading his horse in his hand. A halt took place near the ravine of Rippach, where Bessières had been killed on the 1st of May. Here Napoleon afforded himself some little enjoyment, by making a column of 4 or 5,000 Austrians, who had been taken prisoners in the late actions, defile before him\*, and with whom he intended to fill his bulletins.

The old guard still carried the Austrian colours, taken at the battle of Dresden, which were to be paraded on their return to France. Nevertheless, with the exception of the satisfaction afforded by the sight of these trophies, this retreat could afford him no agreeable reflections. At break of day, order was nearly restored in the French army, but the mixture of different corps, presenting but the wreck of their former existence, must have painfully affected him. He displayed, it is true, much tranquillity and firmness, but he was, nevertheless, considerably dejected; and he experienced, for the first time in his own person, the irreparable loss which he had so often occa-

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\* This column was, I believe, released some days after, by General d'Yorck's corps, in the neighbourhood of the Unstrutt.

sioned to others ; the spirit of the army declined ; the soldiers eyed him with savage glances, when they met him at a distance from the main road, with Ney, Augereau, and some others. The Poles deplored the death of their valiant chief ; their corps was reduced, by losses and desertion, to 600 foot, and 1,500 horse\*. Even these would have quitted the French army, but Napoleon had prevailed on them to remain, at least, eight days longer with him. All the German troops had left him ; and, probably, at Leipsic he was first apprized of the defection of Bavaria. He spoke in contemptuous terms of the conduct of the government, and exceedingly blamed Marshal Wrede for marching against him, with the combined army of Austrians and Bavarians, without a previous declaration of war. " I fear not for the present," said Napoleon, " but the future may do me " wrong." He designated the defection of the Saxons by the title of treason ; but his condition having lowered his pride, he suffered himself to be informed that the ill conduct of his soldiers,

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\* Several divisions of Polish infantry had even passed over to the side of the Allies.

the spoilers of Saxony, had excited the hatred of the nation and army.

Napoleon stopped at Weissenfels. Bertrand had marched two days before upon that point and towards Naumbourg, to take possession of the defile of Kosen upon the Saale. Beyond the bridge near Kosen the road begins, which, rising by insensible degrees, leads towards heights almost inaccessible, that border upon the way, and afford an enemy, even of inferior force, the means of sweeping off with their artillery every thing approaching the point of Hassenhausen. Bertrand, who during the battle of Leipsic had had to engage the Austrian General Giulay, and who had retired towards Pegau, having found Naumbourg occupied by infantry, doubtless imagined that the defiles of Kosen were likewise in possession of a still more considerable force. Whether it were that Napoleon looked upon it as too difficult a matter to render himself master of that position, or that he wished to deceive the enemy, the army passed the Saale near Weissenfels, and the Unstrutt near Freyburg. This movement was most probably determined by the

first of these motives ; for Bertrand had faced all the artillery and equipages to the right about, in order to direct them upon the road which we have pointed out. For the purpose of facilitating the passage below the old wooden bridge of Weissenfels, another of rafts was constructed near the town, behind which are hills planted with vines.

Napoleon, on his arrival, went to the edge of the river, and passed the afternoon at the fire of the bivouac, on an eminence near a vineyard. The divisions of his wearied troops passed over confusedly, filing on in haste, and presented the dreadful spectacle of an army in a state of dissolution.

The report of artillery which was heard afar off, seemed to indicate an engagement in the neighbourhood of Mucheln and Kosen, and Bertrand was thought to be fighting with the enemy.

That day Napoleon appeared quite humble, nay mild ; and seemed to listen with condescension to those who spoke of the late events so disastrous for him, as well as of the causes which had induced them. He often walked

round the watch-fire ; he listened attentively to the cannonade, looked at those who passed by with attention, and excited by his composure the interest of all who surrounded him. A miserable tent pitched near the vineyard, forming a single apartment, served as a dwelling for himself and Berthier ; all the rest bivouacked among the vines. Room, forage, every thing was wanting ; the night was cold.

On the 21st of October, at three in the morning, the march was continued along the Saale, on the road leading to Freyburg. A person, who is only superficially acquainted with the steep and mountainous environs of the Saale and the Unstrutt, where the clayey and heavy soil of Thuringia begins, which a single day's rain converts into a swamp, must see that a retreat pursued through cross roads over such ground, could be but a dangerous measure, adopted through absolute necessity. Freyburg is built at the bottom of the valley of the Unstrutt, surrounded by high and steep hills, on one of which stands the antient castle. Bad ways, confined to a narrow breadth by hills covered with vines, gardens and

houses, lead on either side to the little town of Freyburg. These cannot be avoided, nor do they admit the column of march to be formed in divisions or sections. The greater part of the French army entered into this kind of gulf. They were obliged to ascend and drag all the carriages up a steep hill, on the other bank, towards Eckartsberg.

For at least a quarter of an hour before he came to the town, the Emperor could not advance on account of the obstruction occasioned by troops and waggons; he was obliged to alight from his carriage, and had much ado to penetrate through the crowd in order to reach the place.

The bridge had been burnt two days before by the Austrians; another, of a lighter description, had been constructed, composed of rafts, which was agitated to and fro, by the swelling of the Unstrutt; the other bridge was at a quarter of a league farther distant, near a mill, and it was known that there was a third still lower down near Laucha. When Napoleon came up, men and horses, urged either by eagerness or fear, pressed on to pass.



Discipline no longer existed, every one wished to make sure of himself; and in the mean time the insubordination and disorder of the army in its passage, excited apprehensions of the most imminent danger. It was the disastrous passage of the Beresina, in miniature.

In the morning the sun, veiled in mists, resembled a bloody globe. The noise of the troops and the cannonade of Kosen and Hassenhausen, produced the most terrible effect. The presence of Napoleon alone was capable of restoring some degree of order. He arrived at the bridge, under which a certain number of fugitives had already found their graves, while famished stragglers were wandering in the neighbouring vineyards to procure some grapes, or to pillage. By adopting severe measures, the embarrassment was removed as much as possible, and to each division of artillery, infantry and cavalry, a bridge was assigned; Napoleon having stopped at several points, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes impeded by the crowd, remained for a short time at the house of the protestant minister, and returned to the very narrow defiles of which we

have spoken, and near one of the bridges, where the greatest difficulty had been experienced in restraining the soldiers, who pressed forward in a brutal manner. In order to succeed in restoring order, several generals and *gendarmes* were obliged to distribute some blows with the sabre. The bridge not being wide enough, and too weakly constructed, the cavalry were obliged to cross it two by two ; nevertheless the soldiers thrust themselves on helter-skelter, from right to left. At last, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when the whole ravine of Freyburg swarmed with waggons, and the cannonade in the direction of Hassenhausen, where Bertrand had been engaged, began to diminish, Napoleon himself with his staff repaired to the right bank of the Unstrutt. He had not much longer time to delay, for scarcely had he passed the bridge, directing himself on the by-road towards Berg Scheidungen, when a troop of the enemy's *tirailleurs* appeared upon a height behind the mill near the second bridge, an eminence which the French had not occupied. These *tirailleurs* spread themselves along the declivity of the hill, and fired upon the troops who were passing. Among the great faults that were committed

in this war, must be reckoned the neglect of those minor means of security, which consist in posting patrols of observation. The French confided, in general, for grand operations, in the genius of Napoleon; but they never endeavoured, by an examination of the ground, and an exact attention to ordinary duties, to remedy inadvertences, which might be placed to his account. Thus, in this place, whole convoys and *corps d'armée* passed the ravine and the river, without the neighbouring hills being occupied. Some minutes after, the enemy's light infantry commenced their salute; cannon-balls were flying round the Emperor, and shells fell close by him. The odd suite and singular dress of the King of Naples, became a mark for the enemy's tirailleurs and artillery-men; the piquet of the guard, as well as all the followers of Napoleon, were consequently obliged to disperse.—“ They are firing on the suite!” said Caulincourt to Napoleon, who, at that moment, was looking through his little telescope. “ Do you think so?” replied the latter, very calmly turning aside his trusty bay horse.

The attack, by favour of the position, was very

brisk, although the enemy had not more than four battalions, two squadrons, and a battery of flying artillery. Luckily for the French, they did not remark that there was yet another little eminence, close by the mill, and a small house belonging to the vineyard; that this hill commanded all the valley, yet had not been occupied by the French. Napoleon promptly despatched some pieces of artillery, while some battalions of the army, which had formed upon the right bank, marched to the other side of the river, and attacked the hill where the Russians or Prussians were posted. These battalions, covered and assisted by the artillery, succeeded in dislodging the enemy; and the guard, in the mean time, marched to the opposite bank. Marshal Oudinot still remained behind, upon the road to Weissenfels, for the protection of the rear of the army; but this corps of the Allies had come from Mucheln, and had passed over the river. The Allies had also gained some marches on the French, by sending corps in advance on the cross roads; for their cavalry had, on the same day, occupied Weimar, the neighbourhood of Artern, and Buttelsstadt; Czernitscheff's corps was at Sangerhausen. Na-

napoleon quitted this dangerous post, after having convinced himself that the height was occupied, and his retreat covered. Seven years and seven days had elapsed since he had made his sanguinary entrance into the kingdom of Saxony. Near the spot on which Davoust had displayed his valour, Napoleon received his farewell salute with cannon-shot. He went by way of Kloster Hessler, where the young guard received him with the usual acclamations, as far as Eckartsberg, crossing ravines which presented many difficulties in his way. He and the King of Naples were in very ill humour, on account of the continually increasing loss, and the obstacles which the bad ways occasioned, although the road was chosen by themselves. Nevertheless, Napoleon continued always collected and composed.

Bertrand had scoured the neighbourhood of Hassenhausen and Eckartsberg. I do not know whether his corps arrived there by way of Koesen or Freyburg. The French quitted Saxony with the same noise and tumult that had distinguished their entrance into that country. The infuriated rout was defiling all night before Napoleon's quarters, where a gloomy silence reigned.

In the mean time the head-quarters remained, till half past eight o'clock the following morning, in the greatest tranquillity. According to the reports which Napoleon had received, respecting the march of the army through Freyburg, its passage had lasted till half-past five in the morning; then the bridge was destroyed, and eleven pieces of cannon, and more than a hundred carriages, fell into the hands of the enemy. However, from the situation of things, the dreadful confusion, the difficulties of the passage, arising from the bad dispositions which had been made, finally, from the bad state of the roads, it may be calculated, that the loss tripled the estimate which was actually made of it. All the pieces of artillery, which could not be saved, were destroyed or buried, for these cross ways were not calculated for heavy carriages. On the following days, until the army had reached Erfurt, Buonaparte was favoured by dry weather. The roads of the country are soon spoiled when it rains, but fine weather renders them solid and durable.

The shortest way to reach the fortress of Erfurt is through Buttelstadt. The weather was very serene, the high road on the side of Wei-

mar, was probably occupied, or infested, by the Allies. Napoleon chose the first of these two roads, and, having travelled alternately on foot and in his carriage, escorted by his guard, arrived, after mid-day, at Buttelsstadt; General Dombrowsky, had a long conference at this place with Buonaparte. The troops were worn down by fatigue, and their discontent augmented in proportion to their sufferings. This discontent vented itself in reproachful murmurs; they, however, exerted their remaining strength to reach Erfurt. At Eckartsberg, a statement of the strength of the army was published, by which it was still rated at 100,000, but I have great difficulty in thinking it amounted to that number. Napoleon removed his head-quarters to Ollendorf, half way between Buttelsstadt and Erfurt. On the right-hand side of the road, between Buttelsstadt and Ollendorf, some squadrons of Cossacks were perceived, probably belonging to Czernitchef's corps; a body of cavalry was sent to meet them. It was easy to remark the embarrassment which their appearance occasioned in Buonaparte; and as their number was concealed by the nature of the ground, and the force that

followed them could not be ascertained, Napoleon proceeded on horseback out of the villages, to avoid any confusion.

From all this relation the difficulty of a retreat may be apprehended, when large bodies are constrained to take the same road, and the retreating army has little or no cavalry to cover itself. The Cossacks quietly observed the march of Buonaparte and his guard ; a repast was hastily prepared for him at Ollendorf. He perceived himself pressed on all sides, and the march was resumed at midnight. On the 23rd of October, at half past two in the morning, Napoleon and his staff arrived at the gates of Erfurt, after a painful march, conducted through slippery ways, and in the midst of a dark night.

The Emperor passed the 23rd and 24th of October at his palace, entirely devoted to business. He seldom shewed himself at the window. The state in which the troops appeared, who passed before the door of the palace, the avidity with which they fell upon the few provisions that they received from the stores, was for him a subject of vexation. The arrival of these famished men, in tattered clothes, excited commiseration. The



clothing and biscuit distributed were not sufficient for all; hence disputes and endless quarrels arose. Napoleon, who, since his elevation, had neither experienced hunger nor physical exhaustion; he, whose staff designated those who returned without arms, by the title of the *sacre canaille*, the cursed mob, now perceived how much this retreat had cost him. When it was observed to him, that the distribution made at Erfurt had restored the troops, in some degree, to order; he peevishly exclaimed—"But they are a set of ———, they are going to the devil—I am losing as far as the Rhine 80,000 men in this way\*!

Notwithstanding this, his military genius already began to indulge in new schemes. "Between this and the month of May," said he, "I

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\* On such occasions as these, the contempt which, as has been well observed, Napoleon had for men in general, burst forth. Perhaps this might be a relic of revolutionary times; it was in the spirit of those times, surely, he had imbibed the principle, that it was necessary to treat the nation in that manner. His impetuous spirit was not calculated for mildness and moderation; and, as he was himself the personification of incessant activity, he ingeniously turned to account the restless vanity of the French. The bees which adorned his arms, should have been considered by him as symbols of a more salutary industry.

shall have an army of 250,000 fighting men on the Rhine." How much were his expectations deceived !

On the whole he exhibited a mildness,—I am almost tempted to say, an inconceivable patience. He appeared to take pleasure in the conversation that was addressed to him, even when it turned upon peace and the necessity which all the world had for it, or on the situation of the interior of France and her institutions. His labours continued as usual. Berthier, Caulincourt, Maret, were in turns with him when he was not employed in his cabinet. The last day of his stay at Erfurt he gave orders for several preferments in his household, many officers of which received the decoration of the Legion of Honour. General Flahault was appointed General of Division; and about twenty promotions were announced.

A small number of regiments, and the guards, marched in good order through Erfurt. This last fortified point, upon which the French army rested on its retreat from Kaluga to the Rhine, shewed, by its geographical situation, the shock which the French power had sustained. Nothing can afford posterity a more just idea of the dissolution of

this colossus, than the following reflection : In the year 1813, the French line of defence on their retreat (a line which could never again become offensive,) began at the fortresses of Dantzick and Modlin ; comprehended several strong places on the Elbe and the Oder ; united, as it became attacked, in a triangle of three acute angles near Erfurt and Wurtzburg ; and terminated at the Rhine. These extraordinary circumstances were attached to a war conducted on systematical principles, the parallel of which one can hardly suppose subsequent ages will produce.

Some hospitals were established at Erfurt. The dispositions made for the defence of that place gave great uneasiness to the unfortunate inhabitants, who, since the war in 1806, had suffered so much, that the greater part of the landholders had fallen into poverty ; they were now about to be subjected to all the hardships of a siege. During the preceding summer, the town had been fortified by the formation of ditches, filled with water ; but these precautions could not convert it into a fortress capable of holding out for a long time ; and it would not, perhaps, have cost much to take possession of it, for, with the exception of the sick, it

had a very inconsiderable garrison, which must have retired to the Petersberg. But that strong citadel commands Erfurt, and from thence those who occupied the town might be harassed, and all convoys prevented.

On the 24th of October, Marshal Oudinot and General Bertrand were posted, with the rear-guard, at the distance of half a league from the town, on the road to Weimar. All the troops that the enemy had sent in succession for the pursuit of the French army distributed themselves on the following day about the town, upon the Gotha road. The grand army of the Allies was passing through Arnstadt, where the monarchs had, on the 27th, their head-quarters. Erfurt was, at first, only blockaded by the troops commanded by Prince Gortschakow, afterwards under General Count Wittgenstein. While Napoleon was in the town, all was quiet in the environs; war was hardly thought of, a plague or a famine was the chief apprehension. All that could proceed onward were obliged to set out.

The King of Naples went forward, under pretence of bringing fresh troops from Mayence, but

he returned from the left bank of the Rhine into Italy.

Finally, on the 25th of October, at three o'clock in the morning, the man who had put such numerous and formidable forces in motion, once more quitted Erfurt, in the midst of rain, wind, and darkness, to encounter his future destiny, which seemed to forebode nothing but calamity. He appeared serious and composed. Berthier was with him in his carriage; Caulincourt, Maret, and all those who belonged to his household, followed him in the accustomed manner.

From four to six o'clock the rear-guard was marching through Erfurt, tranquilly and in good order. A garrison, composed only of some artillery, and a few hundreds of men, remained in the town. After several *reconnoissances*, the Russian and Prussian combined forces soon occupied all the roads leading to the place.

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## **PART THE SECOND.**



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**NARRATIVE**  
**OF**  
**THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED AT DRESDEN,**  
**IN THE YEAR 1813;**  
**BY AN EYE-WITNESS.**

**TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED, BY THE TRANSLATOR,**  
**A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER,**  
**ILLUSTRATING BARON ODELEBEN'S RELATION OF THE GRAND ENGAGEMENT**  
**BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ALLIED ARMIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD**  
**OF LEIPZIG.**

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**DURING** the critical period which the author has endeavoured to describe, with all the impartiality of which a cotemporary can be capable, he resided uninterruptedly at Dresden ; he has brought down his journal from the beginning of March nearly to the middle of October, at which time he was himself attacked with the epidemic disease that prevailed. When engaged in this collection, even in the very midst of the events which compose the subject of his Narrative, he carefully compared it with the information received from other eye-witnesses, and has since rectified and completed the materials which he personally collected, by referring to sources which he could not sooner have consulted, or which, at least, at an earlier period, would have been contaminated, he completed the recital of the remarkable events that passed during the state of siege, to the reduction of the city, from communications which he received from credible witnesses and accurate observers. His work, which was finished in 1814, was printed, for the first time, in the publication entitled *European Annals*.

That which appeared, *On the Campaign of Napoleon in Saxony, during the Year 1813*, was crowned with distinguished success, and a second edition was in course of publication within a few months after the appearance of the first. But the author of that relation had it not in his power to give

connexion and general combination to the narrative of the events which occurred at Dresden. He could be witness only of those which took place during his stay in the capital, where he was attached to the head-quarters of Buonaparte.

The relation contained in this Second Part, in which another eye-witness has confined himself to the history of the transactions in the city, embracing general facts only, as they were necessary to render the main narrative more clear, consequently, forms the natural Supplement of the Campaign in Saxony; while the preceding Narrative of the Campaign serves at the same time to complete and render clearer the account of the transactions in the city. In the second edition the author of the supplementary *Narrative* has often had occasion to make corrections, and enrich each chapter with important additions. The numerous documents which he has annexed to his relation, as illustrations and evidence, will serve, in his opinion, to confer on his work all the completion of which it is susceptible; the greater part of the documents alluded to being neither to be had separately, nor in a collective form.

The author recalls a fatal period to the recollection of his fellow-citizens, with the ardent wish that the remembrance of those disastrous times should every day be gradually obliterated by the repose of durable happiness, and that the traces of misfortune may be effaced by the blessings of peace.

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# NARRATIVE

OF THE

EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED AT DRESDEN.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Approach of the Russians towards Saxony in the Spring of 1813.—The King quits his Capital.—Appointment of the Immediate Commission.—Commutations in consequence of the Preparations for blowing up the Bridge of Dresden.—Retreat of the French under Davoust.—Explosion of the Bridge.—Arrival of the Russian advanced Guard.—Manners of the Cossacks.—Marshal Blucher enters the City.—Patriotism of the Prussian Youth.—Regulations concerning Quarters.—Proclamations of the Allies.—Arrival of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.—Celebration of Easter by the Russians.—Approach of the French Army from Thuringia.—The Allied Sovereigns leave Dresden.*

WHEN the Viceroy of Italy quitted the Prussian territory, and retired upon the Elbe, the division of General Regnier, composed of French, Saxon, and Bavarian troops, after the celebrated engagement at Calisch, approached the frontiers of Saxony. Every thing seemed to indicate that the French army was about to rest upon the Elbe, and await the rein-

forcements which Buonaparte was causing to be collected and armed in the interior of his empire. The anxious inhabitants of Saxony feared that their fine country, which, till then, had suffered but little from the scourge of war, might become the scene of new battles. Several strong positions afforded an opportunity for a vigorous defence of the bank of the river. A strong garrison protected the walls of Magdebourg. The new fortress of Torgau, already protected by good exterior works, and lately surrounded by palisades, was, at least, strong enough to resist a *coup de main*: it also secured the important passage of Wittenberg; the walls of that peaceful university, lined with cannon, defended by a numerous garrison, were prepared for the protection of the intrenchments of the bridge over the Elbe. In the interval of these fortifications, from Magdebourg, on either bank of the river, were placed numerous bodies of troops, under the command of able generals.

In the mean time, the advanced guard of the Russian army had approached the frontiers of Saxony, and towards the end of February, Colonel Brendel, accompanied by some hundreds of Cossacks, had made an incursion into Upper

Lusatia, where he occupied the frontier town of Lauban, while Count Regnier was making his way from Sorau to Bautzen, to take a position on the bank of the Spree. All these events determined the King of Saxony to leave his capital. On the 23d of February he issued a proclamation, by which he announced his departure, and his resolution to remain faithful to the political system to which he had attached himself for six months, a system to which he had been indebted for his safety in the most imminent dangers. He exhorted his subjects to concur, by a peaceable disposition, (consonant with his views, for the benefit of the kingdom,) in maintaining the antient glory of the Saxon people. Immediately, the establishment of a particular administration, independent of every other, was set on foot. This administration was to regulate all measures connected with the war department, to watch over the preservation of tranquillity in the interior of the kingdom, and, in all circumstances which might require prompt decision, to take the most salutary steps for the country. This *Immediate Commission* was composed of the minister of Conferences, de Globig, who presided; Baron de Friesen, the first chamberlain; Baron de Mantuffel,

a member of the privy-council, and director of the chief department of the college of finances; and M. de Zeschwitz, member of the secret council of finances. On the 25th of February, in the morning, the King, accompanied by the Queen and the Princess Augusta, set out for Plauen, in Voigtland, to which place his brothers, with their families, had departed three days before. The people had, on a former occasion, seen him absent himself under similar circumstances. But the situation of affairs was now so different, that he was followed, as it were, by all eyes, with an uneasiness, which the dark prospect of the future excited, and which could not, at the first moment, be calmed in every breast, by the hope of seeing him guide the vessel of the state, with a steady hand, in the storm. The only members of the royal family who remained at Dresden, were the King's aunt and the Princess Elizabeth, who, in the sequel, insisted upon staying behind, to share with the inhabitants the changes, anxieties, and dangers of their fortune.

Already the melancholy scenes of war were presented in the city; the sick and wounded Saxons who had been brought back from Poland, were, on the approach of the Russians, removed

from Sorau, and transported to the interior of the country. Every heart was agonized at the sight of these miserable wretches, afflicted with mortal fevers, their limbs either frozen or half burnt, scantily clothed, exposed to the influence of a rigorous season, travelling in open or half-covered vehicles, and uttering grievous cries on the slightest jolt. Often might be seen in the carriages, on a narrow bed of straw, the dying man by the side of his happier companion, whom death had already released from his torments. At the sight of so much misery surely the prayer of the respectable Faust should have been earnestly renewed, namely, for a mutual agreement between the belligerent powers, that all hospitals should be declared neutral, in order that the unfortunate warriors who made the sacrifice to their country of so much precious blood might at least undergo their sufferings, and die undisturbed. The dispersion of contagious effluvia, which gave rise to many diseases, required other precautions against a new calamity. Evident symptoms of contagion and great mortality already appeared in the countries traversed by the convoys of sick, from Lusatia to Leipsic. In many



towns the most active medical professors fell victims to their zeal for their duty and humanity. But, in spite of the imminent danger, the sick, who were lodged in considerable numbers in the new town and before the black gate, were frequently visited by a number of the inhabitants commiserating their afflictions ; this circumstance obliged the government to take measures for preventing the progress of a contagion, that was to be apprehended even from the attentions of generous compassion.

Dresden had no garrison, a part of a regiment of infantry belonging to the guards had been sent to the fortress of Koenigstein, whither some treasures of the court, some public chests, and the most valuable pictures of the gallery had been conveyed. The rest of the regiment had accompanied the King to Plauen. The pupils in the artillery-school had been removed to Torgau, and all the Saxon military force still remaining in the country had been collected ; a levy of 5,000 men, which had been ordered since the month of February, had reinforced the national troops. A part only of the hussars and heavy cavalry, namely, of the regiment of cuirassiers of

the guard, and the regiment of Zastrow, which had before been recalled from Poland, was cantoned in the neighbourhood of the capital, where the latter had arrived since the 26th of February. Some detachments advanced as far as Bautzen, in order to form corps of observation at that place. One remained at Dresden; the rest followed the King to Plauen.

Several days had elapsed in these preludes of serious occurrences, when, on the 7th of March, the general of division Regnier, who for ten days past had been encamped on the left bank of the Spree, arrived at Dresden with his staff. The following day, at the moment when the Russians were occupying the towns of Lusatia, Guben, Sorau, and Lauban, his division entered the capital. One part was dispersed in the neighbouring villages on the left bank of the Elbe; another, in the new town, where many of the houses were obliged each to supply quarters for eighty men. The division above-mentioned then consisted only of French and Saxons, amounting at most to 3,500 men; the general in chief had sent about 1,400 Bavarians, united to his corps, under the command of General de Rechberg, beforehand, to Koenigsbruck,

to defend the bridge of Meissen. These troops had arrived on the 3rd of March. The division of Saxon cavalry which General Liebenau directed, independent of Regnier, at the same time again assembled at Dresden.

The French general appeared determined to defend the two points of passage over the Upper Elbe, although Meissen was unprovided with means of defence, and the greater part of the fortifications of the capital were destroyed. The following day, after his arrival, preparations were made for defending the important points of passage near Dresden.

The general in chief visited the environs of the new town which had been surrounded on all sides by palisades. Artillery had been placed upon the walls of the old, for the purpose of commanding the bridge and the right bank of the river. All the carriages also had been previously conveyed to the left bank of the Lower Elbe. A part of those carriages, small boats and rafts which the owners had not concealed, had been transported to the right bank, proceeding up the river from Meissen. The remainder had been sunk upon the spot. On the ninth of March, at the moment

when the viceroy of Italy, with the main army of the French, arrived in the plains of Leipsic, the French ambassador quitted Dresden to follow the King to Plauen. In the afternoon of that day, the French began to take up the pavement over the fourth pier of the bridge near the right bank of the Elbe. An uneasiness was now entertained relative to the fate of the bridge, that celebrated monument and ornament of the capital. Many of the inhabitants comforted themselves in the hope, that the sole intention of the French was to secure it by palisades, and to erect a platform for a battery upon it, in order to defend the passage; others suspected the destructive design of blowing up some arches of this noble work. Immediately they began to remove from the hospitals, the sick soldiers who had hardly enjoyed a few days of repose, in order to transfer them to the old town on the right bank of the Elbe: which circumstance seemed to give still greater ground for the apprehension of seeing the two parts of the city which were so intimately united, shortly separated, and the inhabitants reduced to the most cruel extremities by the attempt of vigorously defending the place.

The next morning an unexpected occurrence gave vent to the sentiments of uneasiness which pervaded apart of the inhabitants,—sentiments kept alive by an opinion that the French power had declined past all possible recovery.

A Saxon hussar and a drunken French soldier fell to quarrelling upon the bridge, at no great distance from the spot where the pavement had been taken up, and where a crowd had collected from curiosity since the preceding evening, without however daring to venture any thing but slight murmurs, confining themselves to the expression of their uneasiness. The two soldiers who were disputing came at length to blows, and the people took with great clamour the part of the Saxon hussar. A French officer, who was passing, thrust himself through the crowd to learn the cause of the disturbance, and send off the drunken soldier, whom they were ill-treating. The furious mob then turned against the officer, abusing and insulting him until the city-guard came to separate them, and removed the soldiers who had been the cause of the disorder.

In the mean time the works at the bridge were prosecuted with activity, and the workmen

protected by the guard began to dig deeper on the site of the pier. Spectators, the number of whom was continually increasing, assembled in the afternoon at the entrance of the bridge: at first they contented themselves with endeavouring to annoy the workmen; they hid their rules, they entangled the cord which was stretched across the way; they tried to confuse them in their calculations. The Saxon officers, who endeavoured to disperse the groups which impeded the works, were disregarded. At last the boldest ventured decidedly to oppose their prosecution. They snatched the spade and the pick-axe from the hands of the workmen; the sentinels were driven back, and a French officer, who drew his sword on some of the rioters, would have followed his *Toledo* to the bottom of the Elbe where it was thrown, if some prudent spectators and the city-guard, which came up, had not snatched him from the hands of the infuriated populace. The bridge, the square situated between it and the royal palace, the neighbouring street in which General Regnier resided, were filled with accomplices in the disturbance, or persons collected by curiosity. This tumultuous

mob ran up and down, and the impulse became more alarming when the workmen appeared about to proceed with their labours. In vain did the Saxon officers endeavour to tranquillize this ungovernable assembly. From the midst of the mob was heard from time to time the exclamation — “ Out with the French,” which was repeated in chorus by the crowd. Every Frenchman who appeared was at least insulted. The city-guard which was mounted in the neighbourhood was several times, in vain, invited to take a part in the insurrection.

In the mean time the Saxon infantry had assembled in the square between the catholic church and the bridge; strong detachments of Saxon cuirassiers and of the mounted burgher-guard patrolled the bridge and the neighbouring streets to disperse the rioters. The drums beat in the new town, and the French garrison appeared under arms in the main street leading to the bridge. By these measures the disturbance was suppressed by degrees, especially when it appeared that the excavation, which had caused so much alarm, was discontinued. But at the approach of night the insurrection again

broke out. The alarming cry of "Out with the French; Out with Regnier," was re-echoed on the square near the bridge. A detachment of French infantry which endeavoured to make its way from the new town to the other side of the Elbe, was unable to penetrate through the furious mob which rushed upon the bridge to meet it, and, doubtless, the French soldiers had received no orders to employ force. At the same time another band presumed to throw stones at the windows of the king's palace, and the chateau of the Brühl, where the French general-in-chief resided. The crowd assembled round those palaces till the moment when the city cavalry and infantry seized on the avenues of the streets. Everything was tranquil in the new town where the French troops remained under arms in the streets. The clamour of sedition was still kept up around them until about ten o'clock, when at length the crowd dispersed without committing any further violence. During the whole night, strong patrols of the garrison and of the civic guard on horseback traversed the city, and a great part of the garrison remained stationed in the streets of the new town.



surrounded by palisades, but the works were suspended.

On the 11th of March, in the afternoon, the news was suddenly spread, that the Russians were approaching, who had already, two days before, made incursions as far as the neighbourhood of Koenigsbruck. They were not more than two leagues distant, and advanced by the Berlin road. Immediately every thing was in a bustle, the shops were shut up, the drum assembled the troops, who had issued out of the gate of the new town, and in front of which they drew up. Strong parties of cavalry and light infantry advanced upon the woody heights, which extend to the north-east of the city, and along which is the course of the military road. The French general himself repaired, with his suite, into the plain which surrounds the new town, as far as the most advanced posts. But every thing remained quiet, and, at the approach of night, the garrison returned to the new town, where they bivouacked in the streets.

While all this was passing, the inhabitants of the capital became extremely uneasy; they had been informed that Marshal Davoust, Prince of

Eckmuhl, had arrived at Meissen, with his division, about 12,000 strong\*. Some days before the Bavarian general, de Rechberg, by order of Count Regnier, had made dispositions, which announced that the bridge over the Elbe would be burnt. At the request of the council of the city, it was granted, that at the approach of the Russians, the small wooden arch only should be set on fire, and preparations were made to prevent the flames from spreading. But, on the arrival of the Prince of Eckmuhl, he immediately gave orders that the bridge should be consumed, in order to render the passage of the enemy over the river more difficult. At midnight, on the 12th of March, the flames were seen to arise, which consumed this bridge, constructed with much art; a spectacle at once dreadful and sublime†. Early in the morning of the following day, the Marshal quitted the town, to proceed up the right bank of the river, above Dresden, whilst the Bavarians occupied the left bank below Meissen; about 200 French only remained in the town, who

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\* The French papers made this division amount to 25,000 men, and a hundred pieces of artillery; but this was an exaggeration.

† Appendix, No. III.

planted the artillery, which was intended to batter the wreck of the bridge. Already, in the evening, the Cossacks appeared upon the right bank, in the nearest villages, in front of the town.

On the same day Davoust entered Dresden with his division. Immediately on his arrival, the preparations of defence upon the bridge, and in the new town, were resumed with fresh activity. An order had already been issued that every house should be shut up by ten o'clock at night, and that all persons found in the streets after half-past nine should be arrested. Every inhabitant who wished to go beyond the French advanced posts, on the right bank of the Elbe, was obliged to furnish himself with a passport. Count Regnier resigned the command of his division to General Durutte, and quitted the town, when the Marshal assumed the chief command. The line of the French advanced posts was extended farther. On the following day, the 14th of March, a part of the garrison took the road to Königsbruck. Upon the woody heights about a league from the town, an affair of outposts occurred, under the eyes of the inhabitants, whom curiosity induced to repair in crowds to the neighbourhood of the

field of action. On the following day, an order from the government forbade the inhabitants from venturing to approach the outposts. All connexion with the right bank of the Elbe was suspended, and even communication with the new town restrained. At the first cannon-shot which should fall on the right bank of the Elbe, the inhabitants were commanded to retire to their homes\*.

The inconveniencies of a besieged fortress had already commenced in the city. The new town, surrounded by palisadoes, was covered by some intrenchments, and protected by artillery and a strong garrison. No one dared again to impede the works at the bridge, which were not discontinued even during the night. Since the 15th of March, five openings had been dug at regular distances, in the pier and the arches which it sustained; these were connected by internal apertures of communication, and about thirty miners from Freyberg, directed by officers of artillery and pioneers, had orders to dig into the bed of this enormous mass of stone. That day and the following, the Cossacks, who were skirmishing near the town, were vigorously assailed, one of

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\* Appendix, No. IV.

whom, grievously wounded, was made prisoner, and brought into the city, in the midst of a great concourse of people ; and the report of cannon was heard, especially on the 16th, upon the woody heights in the neighbourhood. Independently of the active prosecution of the works at the bridge, several other movements demonstrated that the French general no longer intended to occupy the right bank of the river.

On the 15th, towards night, after the advanced posts had been withdrawn, the gate of the new town, which leads to the military road of Lusatia, was completely shut ; the other, towards Meissen, had been closed for some time.

On the following day, in the afternoon, all the troops quartered in the old and new towns, were passed in review. The sick had already been removed to the new town, upon the left bank of the Elbe ; the transportation of provisions thither was begun. The preparations for blowing up the pier of the bridge were nearly completed. At the approach of night they were busied in taking down the gilt crucifix, placed upon the basis of a rock, above the nearest pier to that which the French were about to blow up. The crucifix

had stood in that situation more than eighty years\*. During the whole of the night they were removing waggons and provisions from the new town; the troops were ready to march at a moment's notice.

On the 20th of March, early in the morning, a printed notice from the municipality was distributed at every house; by which the inhabitants were apprized, by command of the Prince of Eckmuhl, that at the moment when, in the morning, they should hear three guns discharged, they should retire into their houses, and should not quit them for three hours after†. Immediately after the distribution of this paper, the pieces of artillery, which, till then, had been placed near the gates, and on the half-demolished ramparts of the new town, were seen traversing, at a full trot, the pier of the bridge, which was already charged. Eight o'clock being past, three reports of artillery were heard, succeeding each other at short intervals. At

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\* This crucifix was restored at the end of the year, by the Russian authorities, and over the old inscription were placed the following words: "Galli dejecerunt die xix. Martis, MDCCCXIII., " Alexander I. restituit die natali, xxiv. Decembris, MDCCCXIII." Overthrown by the Gauls, on the 19th of March, 1813; restored by Alexander I., on the 24th of December, 1813, the anniversary of his birth.

† Appendix, No. V.

that instant the inhabitants ran here and there in the streets. A vague apprehension of the misfortunes which threatened them, induced many to shut themselves up in their houses; a great number of others, yielding to their curiosity, sought on either bank for places where they might behold without danger, the direful spectacle which was in preparation.

An undulating flash, as it were, of lightning, bursts upwards from the hollowed pier; a thick smoke conceals the bridge from every eye. A spout of fire, of dazzling whiteness, ascends, and is followed by a column of flame; the pier seems to dilate with the force of the powder. The blaze penetrates through the chasms of the disjointed stones; the nearest arches are raised up. These enormous masses are buried in the foaming torrent with the crash of thunder, and dense clouds of smoke veil the still yawning abyss which has received them\*.

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\* The construction of the present bridge over the Elbe was begun in 1344, the stone bridge before standing having been carried away by the breaking up of the frost in the preceding year. It originally had twenty-four piers, and was 800 feet in length. On the enlargement of the fortifications, the Elector Maurice caused five piers on the left bank to be thrown down, and the space they occupied to be filled up; by these

Contrary to the expectation of every one, the shock was inconsiderable, and without injury to the rest of the edifice ; for the operation had been so well arranged that the greatest impulse of the powder took place directly upwards and downwards. Marshal Davoust had been implored to spare this *chef d'œuvre* of architecture ; but neither the prayers of the Princes of the Royal Family, nor even the solicitations of the King himself, could divert him from an act of violence, which, according to the avowal of well-informed French officers, was without an object. The bridge being broken, the Prince of Eckmühl followed his army, which was

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means the river was kept back, and the bridge supported. The number of its piers were now reduced to nineteen, and the bridge to 600 feet in length. In 1737 two more piers were destroyed, with a view of gaining ground for the square of the catholic church. This bridge is indebted for its perfection to Augustus II., who caused the road to be raised and widened, foot-ways to be made, and counter arches to be formed at the bottom of the Elbe, with large blocks of freestone. This bridge, now consisting of seventeen piers and sixteen arches, is 550 paces in length, and is furnished with an iron balustrade. Over each pier is a semi-circular recess, with stone seats. See *Historical and Picturesque Description of the Bridge over the Elbe*, by E. A. W., with an engraving, by Weit, of the bridge, in the state in which it stood when the pier was blown up. 8vo. Dresden, 1813. Published by Arnold. At the same bookseller's may be had, a print, by Witzani, of the bridge at the moment of the explosion. Large folio impressions, plain and coloured.



already marching upon the left bank of the Elbe, towards Meissen. About 3,000 French only remained in Dresden, under the command of General Durutte, with the Saxons, under General Lecocq. A battery was hastily established upon the left bank, near the broken arch, in order to prevent the passage of the bridge on the other side. Pieces were also planted for the defence of the river, behind the chateau de Brühl, upon the *Wallegarten*, which rises along the river sides like a bastion ; also, on a spot at Frederichstadt, where a turn of the river might favour a passage. In the new town about 100 men of the light infantry remained, composed equally of French and Saxons, who occupied the gates, and the remains of the ramparts ; the rest of the day was past in a tranquillity little expected. The inhabitants of either side of the city assembled frequently on the ramparts near the shore, several of whom found themselves separated from their dearest friends ; much social intercourse was divided at the same time with the bridge.

In the neighbourhood of the new town, at the back of the vineyards and hills covered with wood, there were, it appears, on that day but few

of the Russian light cavalry ; the Russian forces had marched the day before, towards Meissen and along the Elster. But early in the morning of the following day, the Cossacks were seen wheeling about near the city, and approaching the river, at the same time out of the reach of fire. Musket-shots were discharged on either shore, and of the number of inhabitants, which curiosity had drawn together, two were punished for their temerity. The Saxon carabineers were posted behind the palisades, lying in wait for the Cossacks, who by their agility were generally enabled to avoid the balls ; a young Cossack officer, who rashly approached too near, was killed by a Saxon ; which circumstance, it is said, irritated the Russians extremely. In the course of the day, the French commandants received a summons to evacuate the town, with which they refused to comply. The government exhorted the inhabitants of the old town, to remain quiet in their houses, in case the enemy should attempt\* to approach and disturb the left bank ; it was declared that those who should stroll near the troops,

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\* Appendix, No. VI.

should be treated as spies, and that the soldiers had orders to fire upon such assemblages of persons, as did not disperse at the first requisition.

On Sunday the 21st towards noon, Colonel Davidoff, commanding officer of the Cossacks which formed part of General Winzingerode's division sent an officer to General Lecocq, to summon him to evacuate the city. At the same time a strong division of Cossacks advanced by the Grossenheim road over the heights, and came in sight of the city. The gate was opened to the Russian messengers bearing the flag of truce; they made through the crowd, that was attracted by curiosity and the fineness of the weather. The people received them with acclamations, to which they replied by friendly greetings, and repaired with the Saxon officers, deputed to enter upon the negotiations to a lone and retired house, within the circuit of the ramparts. Some hours after Colonel Davidoff crossed the Elbe blindfold, conducted by the Saxons; and before night, concluded a convention with Generals Dututte and Lecocq, by the mediation of the *Immediate*

*Commission*, which treaty was published the next morning by the municipality\*. It was agreed that on the following day at noon, the Russians should occupy the new town; but that a truce should take place, by virtue of which no hostility should be committed within the distance of a league above and below Dreden; that after twelve o'clock, all communication should cease between the two divisions of the city, and that whoever crossed the Elbe should be treated as a spy.

The river, which had been for some time totally deserted, now presented for several hours a very animated picture; embarkations were hastening from one side to the other; any inhabitant having a ticket from the commandant, was allowed to cross the Elbe. During the two first days, scarcely any persons passed over but the officers and the guards which had been withdrawn: the citizens obtained permission to cross only in cases of urgent necessity. At noon, all persons who had embarked, again repaired to the left bank. The Cossacks forming the advanced guard of General Winzingerode's division, made

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\* Appendix, No. VII.

their entry into the new town singing. The little garrison near the gate, was under arms during the march; and as soon as it had withdrawn all its posts, it retired with beat of drum to the left bank. In a short time the streets wore the appearance of a camp; in every place appeared large white pyramids formed by the pikes of the Cossacks; some of these bearded warriors lay extended upon straw, others were busied with their horses, which were ranged along the houses at mangers hastily prepared. The city which had been deserted, soon assumed a more lively aspect. A troop of peasants bending under their baskets, had preceded the Cossacks; taking advantage of the time when the gates were opened, which had been shut for five days past. The market was filled with people at a very unusual hour, and in the new town plenty succeeded to famine; while in the old, certain articles of consumption bore an extravagant price. It was amusing to observe the manners of the Cossacks; still more so as these temperate and gentle warriors were not troublesome guests, either in the field or in the towns. If a Cossack had a plentiful ration of brandy, bread,

herring and onions allotted to him, he was contented ; if to these was added a bit of boiled fish, he became a happy man. For these religious observers of Lent, would not for the world have touched meat. The Cossacks, young and old, are distinguished by a great partiality for children ; they played with them, and bore all the sallies of their petulance without ever being out of humour : they would carry them in their arms for hours together, caressing them, and speaking to them in Russ, and endeavouring to make them prattle \*. Before sun-set they commonly assembled in groups, for the purpose of singing their hymns or warlike songs ; the melody of which is often very expressive. The ablest singer stands in the centre and leads the rest. Before the gates of the city, the most active were seen dancing to the sound of a

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\* A striking trait of this amiable propensity in the rugged warriors of the north, is personally known to the Editor of this Edition. When the band of Cossacks, which preceded the entry of the Allied sovereigns into London in the year 1814, were descending Blackheath-hill, a Cossack, observing an interesting little boy, about 3 years of age, in the crowd, alighted from his horse, placed him on the saddle, and, remounting, carried the child before him a considerable distance, to the great delight of his father and the spectators.

wretched violin. During these dances, they place themselves in such attitudes as, from the particular make of their clothes, are not decorous for every eye.

On the very same day that the Cossacks entered the new town, the garrison of the old was diminished; General Lecocq had received an order from the King to repair to Torgau, with the Saxons whom he commanded: this monarch summoned the Saxon cavalry under the command of General de Liebenau, to repair to him at Plauen, where they did the duty of his escort.

On the 23rd of May, the garrison was augmented by the Bavarians, who till that time had remained at Meissen. The greater part of the Cossacks encamped in the neighbourhood of the new town, and in the villages on the right bank of the river, where they were daily reinforced. Here they were appointed to wait for the infantry and artillery, who were advancing by easy journeys. Colonel Brendel had the chief command in the new town. From Dresden towards Pilsnitz, the Russians had placed white flags upon the territory of the line comprised in the truce before mentioned.

Since the bridges of Meissen and Dresden had been impracticable, there was no other communication all along the course of the Elbe between the two banks, than the fortified bridge of Wittenberg, and that of Torgau, near which General Thiehnann had caused another bridge of boats to be constructed under the guns of the fortress. The Elbe, therefore, separated the country into two parts, one of which was in the power of the Allies. No province of Saxony had yet been the scene of any remarkable engagement, and yet this country had suffered more than during the two last wars which had been so fatal for her. The preparations for the defence of the Elbe had required painful sacrifices. The productive navigation of that river, which is generally covered with boats, from the frontiers of Bohemia to Magdebourg, had been for a long time suspended, the best boats having been burnt. The considerable supplies of grain, made to the French Armies in the circles of Leipsic and Wittenberg, had exhausted the barns of the husbandmen who, for completion of the calamity, had been kept from the plough, by continual requisitions for horses. The perpetual transit of



the troops was an insupportable burthen to the inhabitants, already ruined by the increasing dearness of provisions ; contagious diseases were dwindling down the population in many districts. If an obstinate defence of the Elbe near Meissen and Dresden had obliged the Russian and Prussian armies to remain much longer on the right bank, Saxony would thenceforth have experienced all the evils to which at a later period she became the prey ; the measures which were adopted discovered very soon, that the positions above mentioned, were too weakly defended long to hold out. Already, artillery belonging to the French and Saxons, had been withdrawn from the old town. Many sick persons, even in a dying condition, had been removed into Freyberg, Augustusburg, and even Thuringia ; and, on the occupation of the new town by the Russians, carriages had been put in requisition as speedily as possible, for the purpose of removing all those who could bear the transportation.

On the 24th of March, in the afternoon, a great part of the Cossacks who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Dresden and along the Elbe, upon the road to Pilnitz, advanced. They

gaily followed the chorus of singers, who, according to the custom of their country, opened the march. The magnificent view of the Elbthal, which may be enjoyed from those heights, seemed to augment the gaiety of these children of the Don and the Ural. A report was circulated that they would endeavour to cross the river near Pilnitz, because in that place there was but a very inconsiderable force to defend the right bank. Colonel Brendel sent an officer to the old town, the same evening, to declare the termination of the truce.

On the following day, the municipality acquainted the inhabitants with this event \*, and enjoined them to retire to their houses, as soon as the tumult of arms should announce to them the resumption of hostilities ; in order that the troops might not be incommoded in their movements, nor the lives of the citizens endangered. In the mean time, every thing remained in a state of tranquillity on either shore. But a report was spread that the Russians had succeeded in crossing the Elbe, above and below Dresden.

On the 26th of March, the French command-

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\* Appendix, No. VIII.

boatmen and fishermen had drawn up from their concealment under water. The inhabitants on either side saluted each other with joy. The next business was to restore the communication between the two shores. A bridge of rafts, thrown across above the city, was completed on the 28th. Some days after, a second bridge was finished, half a league below the city. Another bridge of planks, thrown over to replace the broken arch, required more time; this was not finished till the 7th of the following month. The boatmen were delighted with a delay so much to their advantage, for no one was permitted to pass the bridge of rafts, intended peculiarly for the use of the army, except those citizens who were provided with a ticket, sealed by Colonel Brendel \*.

As soon as the bridge of rafts was completed, the division of General Winzingerode, whose artillery had remained for some days on the right bank, crossed the Elbe. A part of the cavalry of that division set out on the two last days of March, and traversed Meissen, in order to proceed to the Mulde. The general himself, with his staff, repaired to the old town, while the new was resign-

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\* The seal was a copy of a caricature ridiculing Buonaparte.

ed to the Prussians as their head-quarters. The Prussian army, under the command of Blucher, which had been quartered in the villages along the road to Bautzen and the environs of Königsbruck, soon joined the Russians. Marshal Blucher in person came to Dresden on the same day, with the Princes William, Augustus, and Frederick, of Prussia, and Prince Charles of Mecklenburg Strelitz. The Prince Royal of Prussia arrived the following day. A large portion of the allied army marched forward on the Freyberg road. The Prussian head-quarters broke up on the 5th of April for the last-mentioned town. A Russian *commandant de place* remained at Dresden. Up to the 16th of April, several divisions of Prussian troops crossed the Elbe; the finest of these corps are the foot guards, the grenadiers of eastern Prussia, and several superb regiments of cavalry. The composition of the chasseurs of the guard afforded some idea of the sacrifices which Prussia had made, and of the spirit which had been diffused through all classes of the inhabitants. Nearly a thousand young persons, in the number of whom were seen the sons of the best families, marched with ardour

to the contest, and of these but a few hundreds escaped death. The divisions of volunteers, clothed in black, were still more numerous; different provinces had united to raise them; the greater part of these young persons had quitted the peaceful halls of the colleges and universities; several distinguished men of letters, for instance, Messieurs Steffens and Jahn, repaired, among the number of the officers, to the field of honour. The word of command was received, by the young soldier, from that mouth which had instructed him on the forms of the school. These volunteers ardently desired to be engaged, but they did not yet appear accustomed to severe discipline; and several of them were of such a tender age, that it could not be expected they would long be able to support the fatigues of war. The number of young persons who, fired by existing circumstances, had followed the army from Silesia, but whose strength did not equal their enthusiasm, was, I believe, very considerable. A boy of ten years of age was seen, at Dresden, supplicating the officers, with tears in his eyes, to receive him among the volunteers; and if he was not old enough to carry a musket, to

give him at least a drum; every one, of course, rejected him, for he was not even strong enough to serve as a drummer, but he still persisted in his request. Another child, who had eloped from Breslau to follow the army, was advertised by his parents in the public papers.

The continued passage of troops, which recommenced, owing to the movements of the Russian and Prussian combined armies, so oppressed the householders, that, for the first time at Dresden, the equitable measure was adopted, of making their lodgers contribute to the support of the foreign troops. This measure was put in force soon after the arrival of the first division. The first step for the relief of the householders was the obligation imposed on their lodgers to pay them an extraordinary contribution, for the purpose of enabling them to meet the expenses occasioned by supplying quarters to the military, from the 10th to the 20th of March. Two days later a provisional regulation took place, by which householders were empowered to send a part of the soldiers to their lodgers, in case a number should be quartered on them, exceeding half the ordinary quota, fixed on for their respec-

tive houses. Some months after this regulation was rescinded by another, which remained constantly in force; this prescribes that the number exceeding the ordinary quota, shall be at the common charge of the inhabitants of the house, including the landlord; and that any number exceeding treble the ordinary quota, as well as the number conformable thereto, shall be at the landlord's sole expense\*. The distribution of the soldiers quartered among the lodgers was made in proportion to the rent which they paid; this scale may easily give rise to a distribution very ill proportioned to the fortune of the inhabitants, as, indeed, was frequently the case.

The interpreters, (every one being so styled, who knew but a few words of the Russian language, or even of the Polish only), could not

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\* Each house is rated conformably with the roll, entitled, "Of the Service." In a town the landlord is obliged to pay twelve groschen for every 1,000 thalers of the value of his house; in the suburbs the proportionate quota is eighteen groschen. By means of this emendatory regulation, the citizen, in time of peace, is exonerated from all military quarterings; in time of war, he is only required to supply house-room to the soldiers. In case of the march of foreign troops, each householder in the city is obliged to quarter a man per 1,000 thalers; and, in the suburbs, one per 800 thalers.

prevent all the inconveniences that arose from the difficulty which persons experienced in reciprocally understanding each other, and the numerous vocabularies, furnished by the presses of Leipsic and Berlin, were but poor resources.

Immediately on the arrival of the Prussian general in chief, two proclamations were issued in Dresden, each dated from Buntzlau, the 23rd of March, and signed Blucher \*. The first, which bears the title, "*To the Inhabitants of Saxony*," exhorts them to join the Prussians, to raise the standard of insurrection against the foreign oppressor, and be free. It promises them "to administer, in the name of the King of Saxony, who is in the power of a foreigner, and not in a condition to make a free choice, the government of those provinces of the kingdom, which fortune, the superiority of the Prussian arms, and the valour of her warriors, may cause to submit to Prussia. It requires that Saxony should satisfy the reasonable wants of the soldiers, and assures the observance of the strictest discipline."

The second proclamation†, addressed to the troops under his orders, exhorts the Prussian

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\* Appendix, No. IX.

† Appendix, No. X.



warriors "to treat the Saxons with mildness, and to consider them as destined shortly to become their Allies;" a hope is expressed, that the inhabitants of Saxony will readily satisfy the moderate demands of the Prussians, arising from dispositions wisely adopted for the general benefit.

The wants and requisitions of the Prussians, were explained in a more definite manner in the negotiations which the general in chief had opened with the *Immediate Commission*, but his pretensions were such, that the Commission represented it to be a very difficult, not to say absolutely impossible, matter, to satisfy such demands, in a country already exhausted by all the burthens of war, and the greater part of which was occupied by the belligerent powers. General Blucher declares in his letter to the *Immediate Commission*, that the sacrifices required of the Saxons, are infinitely less than those which his fellow-countrymen joyfully accede to, in order to recover their independence; that he has no intention of requiring a gratuitous supply of the wants of the army; that he flatters himself with the hope that in a treaty which may be concluded

between the two neighbouring states, an indemnity will shortly be decreed. He declares that such supplies as are not absolutely necessary at the moment, shall be dispensed with, until the Prussian Monarch shall have given his determination; but that to abate the smallest iota of any of the articles required by urgent necessity, would be to fail in the duty imposed on a general, of supporting his army. Lastly, he reproaches the *Immediate Commission*, that the memorials presented by them to him, are couched in a style little suitable to the occasion; that they begin to manifest in the negotiations a sort of asperity, which he will not allow in the authorities under his jurisdiction. This letter was printed in the journal called the *Dresdner Anzeigen*\*. In spite of the representations of the commissioners, a Prussian guard was established before the door of the printing-house, where it remained until the paper was printed and circulated.

It was not difficult for an impartial observer to remark, that these steps of the general, the prospect of the establishment of a foreign ad-

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\* Appendix, No. XI.

ministration, and the approaching occupation of the circle of Cottbus, which had been declared, produced a very bad effect on the Saxons in general\*.

It is affirmed that the Russians themselves were but ill satisfied with several of these measures, and with the tone which prevailed in certain proclamations; and if it be considered that their views were widely different, the assertion will wear an appearance of probability.

It is also said, that they were equally displeased with "An address to the people of Saxony†," inserted in the *Leipsic Gazette*, through the influence of the Prussian government, which contains expressions to the following import: "We will not suspend our swords in the oaken forests of the emancipated country, until we behold the mountains of the Rhine, and the German banners waving on the territory of France." Expressions which pointed out the frontiers thenceforth to be assigned as legitimate to France. According to the appeal of Kutusoff to the Germans, the Russians would not how-

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\* Appendix, No. XII.

† No. 72. 12 April, 1813. Appendix, No. XIII.

ever undertake any thing hostile to the French territory\*.

† Of all the addresses and appeals which appeared from that moment, accompanied by war-like songs and pamphlets, under which all the presses groaned, and which were sent from the Oder and the Spree to the Elbe, to excite the Saxons to take up arms, none are more remarkable than the two signed-Wittgenstein. The first ‡, which appeared at Berlin on the 28rd of March, leaves the Saxons the choice of the fraternal embrace, or the point of the sword, and invites them to the Prussian ranks; the other, which General Wittgenstein published on the 30th of March§ at Belzig, at the time when he first set foot on the Saxon territory, makes the fate of the crown depend upon the Saxon people.

The concurrence of the Saxons at this critical juncture, appeared by no means an indifferent

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\* Appendix, No. XIV.

† These, with many other curious pieces, may be found in the pamphlet, entitled "A Collection of all the Pieces officially published during the war of 1813." Arnold, Dresden, 1813.

‡ Appendix, No. XV.

§ Appendix, No. XVI.

matter, either for Saxony herself, or the other countries which might be influenced by her example. Although all imaginable means were employed to gain over the Saxons, it was maintained that every attempt to prevail on the nation to take a share in the alliance would be vain, so long as the King should not withdraw his first declaration, in which he manifested sentiments so contrary to those now desired from the people.

It was suspected with reason, that the nation at large partook of its sovereign's view of affairs, and that they did not refrain from making a common cause for the general interests of Germany, merely on his account. To this the Allies replied, that the King would not delay to explain himself in a very different light, and that it could not for a moment be doubted, but he intended to join the coalition. Indeed several of the measures which were taken, were calculated to deceive the eye of a superficial observer, and make him believe that negotiations were on foot, the issue of which was by no means doubtful. Thus, from the first days of the arrival of the Russians and Prussians at Dresden, it was declared, that

in consequence of an order of the day of the 2nd. of April\*, common to both armies, the allied troops were enjoined, in case they encountered the Saxons, not to fire upon them ; but, on the contrary, to receive them with every kind of prepossession in their favour. But whilst, on the one hand, they endeavoured to draw the nation over, on the other, they indulged in repulsive inconsistencies. The weekly publication of M. de Kotzebue gave extraordinary disgust, on account of the abuse which it contained against the King ; and indeed it appears that the author made a recantation of his offensive paragraphs, in consequence of instructions he received from superior authority. It was reported from time to time, that within a short period, the King would return to his capital ; and these rumours, singular as they might appear, gained credit. When the sovereign quitted his states and took up his residence at Ratisbon, on the 30th March, his return to Dresden became still more unlikely. This, however, did not prevent a report from being spread, a few moments after the arrival of the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, that the King

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\* Appendix, No. XVII.

had invited those Monarchs to his dominions. When, however, it was known he had set out on the 27th of April for Prague, conjecture took another turn.

On the very day of the appearance of the decree above-mentioned in favour of the Saxon soldiers, it was agreed to publish an address of the Russian Colonel de Heydecken\*, commandant of Dresden; the substance of which was, that in consequence of the decisions of the higher powers, all communication was broken off with the countries unoccupied by the allied armies, or with those which were neutral; that every man who should form or continue connexions with those countries, would be brought before a court-martial, as having infringed the orders of the allied army. This notice was inserted in the *Dresdner Anzeigen*, and was also about to be posted up; when it was suppressed, and all the copies seized. Nevertheless, every exertion was used to prevent the communication forbidden by that decree; and it was resolved that all the letters which were despatched from Dresden, or arrived there, should undergo an examination;

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\* Appendix, No. XVIII.

a Russian agent, lodged at the post-office, was intrusted with the inspection of correspondence. Although some indulgence was shewn, especially for trade, this regulation deranged the necessary measures of the merchants for the fair of Leipsic, to which the Allies had expressly promised they would present no kind of obstacle.

Although the Allies took advantage of the resources of the country, by making considerable requisitions for supplying the wants of their army, the administration which had been announced still delayed to form itself. M. de Stein \*, whom Kutusoff had pointed out in his last address, as a functionary appointed to maintain order in the direction of the affairs of the country, had arrived at Dresden in quality of President of the council of administration, appointed by the allied Powers; the establishment of the administration was, notwithstanding, still deferred. The councillors of state, Schoene and Rhodiger, had been joined to Stein; Professor Arndt von Greiswalde, who accompanied him, continued to act at Dresden, in consequence of the principles which he had professed in his tracts on the

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\* Appendix, No. XIX.



*landwehr* and *land-sturm*, (the militia and *levy en masse*.) By the special delegation of this council, it was to have communication with the different authorities, especially concerning the finances, the *volksbewaffnung*, (general arming of the people or *levy en masse*,) the security, maintenance, and recruiting of the army, powers which could not but impede the measures of the *Immediate Commission* for Saxony.

It is true that the establishment of an administration for Saxony, appointed by the Allies, was then spoken of in more positive terms, also the organization of the *volksbewaffnung*; but it appeared that they wished to await the success of that kind of negotiation, which had been set on foot before they came to decisive measures. Unexpected events had also frustrated a number of projects, and the plan which had been formed remained unexecuted; they stopped at the mere preparation of it, and were contented with levying considerable sums on the country.

In order to take advantage of the warlike ardour which addresses and innumerable appeals had lighted up in the breast of youth, a sort of office for recruits was established at Dresden, at the

head of which Baron Burstini, captain of the Prussian cavalry, was placed. As soon as that officer arrived in the capital of Saxony, he published an invitation to all persons to join themselves to the combatants, then estimated at 1,400 men, infantry and cavalry, in arms for the *sacred cause*, and to contribute towards the arming and equipment of those who were in poor circumstances. The town of Bischofswerda\* concurred in supporting the good cause; and it is pretended, not without some probability, that this measure drew on it the misfortune it some time after experienced.

The proclamations which had been read, and the state of the French army that had crossed the Rhine, composed only of divisions, weak in numbers, might well authorize the conjecture that the combined army would wage an offensive war; that it would advance rapidly on Thuringia or Franconia; it happened quite otherwise. That army, in the beginning of April, was slowly making its way between Rochlitz, Altenberg, and Chemnitz; the second Russian army, under the command of General Miloradowitsch, advanced as slowly by

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\* App. XX. and XXI.

way of Upper Lusatia. A strong division of Cossacks, which arrived at Dresden on the 15th of April, and remained there two days, again opened the march. On the following day, the first division of the army, composed of infantry, as well as cavalry, with swarms of Calmucks, entered the city. On Easter-eve, a long file of waggons, suttlers' carriages, and empty carts, led by Russian peasants, presented to the spectators the image of an Asiatic army; the night had closed in, and the eye could not discover the end of the column of march. The rear of the army was composed of some divisions of excellent cavalry, and pulks of Cossacks of the Don and the Ukraine, habited in mantles of an ash-coloured stuff, and caps of felt of the same hue, ornamented with a metal cross. The whole were followed by a numerous artillery. On the 20th, another division of infantry came up. The Prussian journals estimated this army at 10,000. I think it could hardly be much stronger. I was struck with the numerous cavalry attached to it, which appeared disproportionate in number to the infantry. The free corps, and regiment of Lutgow, about 2,000 strong, formed of the Russian prisoners of war,

whom the King of Prussia had armed and equipped, were incorporated in it. The light infantry, who had remained quartered in Moldavia and Wallachia, had a more savage appearance even than those Russians which had hitherto been seen at Dresden. These men, difficult to please, proved very incommodious guests to the citizens; still more so to the peasantry, who, from their remote situation, must necessarily have experienced much greater difficulty in obtaining redress of their grievances from the government, than the inhabitants of towns. The parti-coloured image of a Russian saint, stuck in the corner of the room on the eastern side, which had often softened the savage tempers of the other Russians, sometimes failed of its due effect on the new comers.

Those who have seen these savage beings alarm female modesty in the streets of the capital, will not think the assertion improbable, that the young girls sought refuge even in the flues of the chimneys, from their brutality.

From that time, news was received, of the most afflicting nature, from Lusatia and the circle of Misnia, which these troops had traversed. Although arrangements had been made in the poorest

countries of Lusatia, by which the peasantry received a portion of their indemnity in advance, it often happened that the troops, on their arrival, found the villages deserted, as the inhabitants had saved themselves in the woods, with their children, cattle, and effects. The knout and the cane, it is true, often did justice for the excesses committed by the soldiers; still the discipline of the Russians hardly deserved even partial commendation, whilst the good conduct of the Prussians was always conspicuous; indeed, the citizens and peasantry united in extolling it.

During this ever-increasing confusion, the air of neatness which had hitherto distinguished Dresden, had for some time disappeared. The last traces of it were effaced, when the Cossacks and the Calmucks established their bivouacs in the streets and suburbs of the city, and when the porches of the houses had been converted into stables.

At length, about the 21st of April, the rear-guard of General Miloradowitsch joined his division; the slowness of the march, doubtless, was occasioned by the difficulty experienced in moving such immense masses. However, those who

ascribed it to the want of harmony in the Allies, were not entirely mistaken. Whilst the Prussians marched with enthusiasm to the fight, and already saw their victorious eagles hovering on the banks of the Saale, where they were to avenge so many outrages, and whence they were to take their flight towards the banks of the Rhine, inspiring glorious recollections, their Allies appeared to pass the boundaries of the Elbe with regret ; they often said to those who composed the very soul of the army, that they were not now fighting for their own cause, as their safety was no longer menaced by the French arms ; that they now drew the sword in the quarrel of Germany, and that the Germans ought to approve themselves worthy of their assistance.

The news of the engagements forming the prelude of the grand struggle which was about to take place in Thuringia, was already spread, when the Allied Monarchs arrived at Dresden with their guard ; the Emperor came, on the 20th of April, to Gœrlitz ; on the same day, he removed his head-quarters to Mengelsdorf, near Reichenbach ; and, after having visited the *Brudergemeinde* (the Society of Brethren,) at Herrnhut, he had pursued

his way, on the 27th, through Bautzen, to Radeberg, where he passed the night before his arrival at Dresden. The King of Prussia had quitted Gœrlitz on the 23rd, and repaired on the same day to the White-Hart Inn, two leagues from Dresden, where he slept.

On the following morning, before day-break, the road was covered with a long file of waggons, drawn by a superfluous number of horses, by the side of which appeared great dogs, whose pointed noses and long tails shewed that they were of Kamtschatkan breed. The spectators pressed in crowds upon the high road to Bautzen, which the Russian guard had lined from the dawn of day, amusing the curious multitude with their warlike music.

The Emperor and the King joined each other on the high road, at no great distance from the city; and when they had shaken hands, they mounted their horses, and repaired, at the head of their respective guards, to the gate where two columns had been erected, linked by festoons of flowers. The monarchs were received by the members of the municipality, and the ecclesiastics of the three different sects. Young ladies,

dressed in white, bearing baskets of flowers, formed a double line, and when two of these had presented some verses to the Sovereigns, the whole scattered flowers in their path. Alexander and Frederick returned their gracious salutations to the acclamations of the multitude, and slowly advanced, with their numerous retinue, to the ringing of bells, through the lane formed by the militia of the country. Who would have thought, at that moment, when the chosen troops of the North appeared to be making their triumphal entry upon a way strewn with flowers, that, fifteen days later, the same bells, at the very same hour, would announce an entry of a very different description. The column of march was formed of twenty-three chosen battalions of the Russian guard, two battalions of Prussian infantry, and sixty pieces of cannon, altogether about 16,000 men. The King of Prussia followed the Emperor into the old town, where the two sovereigns made the troops defile before them, before they retired to the respective hotels which had been prepared for them. The old town and its environs were filled with Russian troops; the new town, in which was the hotel inhabited by the King of Prussia, was occupied by



the Prussian guard. In the evening, both quarters of the city were illuminated.

The words, "Deliver us from evil!" formed one of the inscriptions displayed, and this prayer was repeated in various forms.

On the following morning, the Russians celebrated Easter. At break of day, the soldiers appeared most carefully dressed, and the Cossacks, the strictest observers of the religious rites of their country, were especially observed purchasing eggs to present to their comrades, or milk to prepare the *Pascha*, or feast of Pentecost. The Russians every where were seen accosting each other in the streets, without distinction of rank, with the salutation, *Christos woskres*, "Christ is risen," which was followed by the reply *Istinnoe woskres*, "Yes, truly, he is risen." In this manner the elegantly-dressed officer saluted the bearded Cossack, covered with his mantle of stuff. The Emperor himself did honour to this custom of his country, and having, after midnight, assisted at the solemn mass of Easter, in the Greek chapel prepared in an apartment of the Brühl palace, which he inhabited, he addressed this pious salutation to all the officers present. The feast of

Easter morning was celebrated by the priests of several Russian regiments, in another chapel prepared at the residence of Prince Maximilian. It is said, that Easter was celebrated in the same manner in all the other towns of Saxony, in which any Russian troops were quartered: but no part of the observance of this festival was so remarkable as at Grossenhain, where, at the request of the Russian commandant, it was solemnized in a Protestant church; an ecclesiastic of the place, who presided, found means to make it as edifying to his parishioners, as it was to the strangers\*.

At Dresden, the splendour of this solemnity was increased by the brilliant parade in which the two sovereigns appeared on foot; some generals, and other English officers of rank, were seen in the suite of the Emperor Alexander; but the most striking occurrence for the inhabitants of the capital was to see, in the midst of the Russian officers, General Thielmann, Commandant of Torgau, who had been presented to the Emperor. At noon, Alexander and Frederick William mounted their horses, to repair to the Russian cavalry, at the head of which the Grand Duke

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\* Appendix, No. XXII.

Constantine, who had arrived the day before at Pilnitz, made his entry into Dresden. This body was composed of about 7,000 chosen men, and brought with it twenty pieces of cannon. On the same day, the battalion of ducal Saxony came up, formed of the troops of Weimar, Gotha, and Hilburghausen, who had surrendered themselves to the Prussians in Thuringia, and to whom the latter had restored their arms and artillery at Altenberg. This battalion defiled, with drums beating, before the hotel occupied by the King of Prussia, and was reviewed by the two monarchs; the next morning it marched for Silesia, in order, as the Prussian accounts express it, "to fight jointly with other Germans, for the common cause of their nation, and to contribute its efforts to deliver their sovereign from a disgraceful oppression."

On the following days, up to the 28th of April, several Russian regiments, and, among others, superb cuirassiers, and a numerous artillery, crossed the Elbe, and afterwards advanced upon the road to Nossen: these troops composed the rear of the Russian army, which might be about 50,000 strong.

The two monarchs lived in a very plain manner, and distinguished themselves by the most amiable affability. Both appeared in public without any display of grandeur. Alexander, especially, seemed to be gratified in the midst of the throng of curious persons who surrounded him at every step; and who did not even make way for him, until, by word of mouth, or signs, he requested them to allow him to pass on. At the moment of his arrival at Dresden, the garden of the Bruhl palace had been shut up, the shady walks of which are the customary resort of children and their nurses. From a summer-house in the garden, prepared for his use, the Emperor often enjoyed the prospect of the smiling banks of the Elbe. As soon as he was informed of the privation which had been inflicted on the Public by shutting up the garden, he gave orders that it should be opened to persons of all ranks. He appeared to delight in the noisy merriment of the children in its walks. The crowd pressed incessantly about the palace, and persons, urged by curiosity, penetrated as far as the grand staircase, which, at the moment when the Emperor might be expected, was lined on either side by a row of

elegant ladies. The King of Prussia also caused the royal garden belonging to the palace of Racknitz, which he inhabited, to be thrown open, when he understood that the gates of the public walk, opposite his windows, had been closed on his account. He was several times seen walking in the garden, with a book in his hand, or conversing with his officers, in the midst of the crowd. Even the little garden situated immediately at the back of the palace, was always open. On the 29th, when the Emperor dined with the King, the people were not only allowed to approach, but seats were placed for their accommodation.

The news, however, soon arrived, that the French armies were debouching by the defiles of Thuringia ; and when the Emperor returned on the 28th from Tœplitz, from a short visit which he had paid to his sister, the Hereditary Duchess of Saxe Weimar, preparations were made for his departure. The greater part of the Russian army began its march the same day. On the 29th, at midnight, the Emperor himself set out, and took his road through Nossen and Altenberg. At eight o'clock the next morning, the King of Prussia fol-

lowed him; a part of the Russian and Prussian guard remained at Dresden. Sentinels were still posted at the doors of the palaces which the monarchs had inhabited, and it was reported that they would return in a few days. The inhabitants of Dresden awaited with impatience the issue of the contest, which was about to take place in their view.

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## CHAPTER II.

*Retreat of the main body of the Allied Troops from the Elbe.—Activity of Napoleon in restoring the interrupted passage of the river.—Skirmishes in Dresden and its Neighbourhood, between the Russian Rear-guard and the French.—The King of Saxony returns to his Capital.—Napoleon sets out towards Bautzen.—Miserable situation of Dresden, as receptacle of the Wounded.—Devastation of the surrounding Country.—False report concerning Napoleon.—He returns, and takes up his residence in Dresden, during the Armistice.*

THE works which the Allies had been constructing on the Elbe, from the beginning of April, could not occasion the apprehension of an obstinate resistance, in case of their retreat, for they had no other object than to prevent the passage of the river; the bridge of boats, established above Dresden, at a short distance from Blasewitz, had been furnished with a *tête-de-pont* on the left bank, composed of six redoubts, which reciprocally covered each other. Upon the heights, near Meissen, and on the left bank of the river, three intrenchments had also been formed, strengthened with block houses. Whatever might be the result of the united efforts of the Allies, the inhabitants of the capital had still the expectation of being obliged to support all



the burthens imposed upon a city placed in the line of military operations, until victory might chance to conduct the combined armies to the southern frontier of Germany.

Public rumours now announced the arrival of fresh Russian troops, intended to form a rear-guard upon the Elbe; and immediately after the breaking up of the head-quarters, every preparation had been made to receive the sick and wounded; and the householders, with their lodgers, were constrained to supply the necessary accommodations for the purpose.

On the 3rd of May, the rumour of a complete victory, gained by the Prussians, in the plain between Weissenfels and Naumbourg, created some momentary diversion of the uneasiness which prevailed. The report remained current the whole day, however, without acquiring any confirmation by later accounts. The relation of a traveller, who announced, that, on the 2nd of May, the French were at Leipsic, gave birth to fresh alarms, which were not entirely dissipated by the assurances of a Russian officer, who had left the head-quarters on the 1st of May, that the Emperor had publicly announced to his troops, the victory gained by the Prussians. On the follow-

ing morning the inhabitants were informed, by a placard, that official news had arrived of a bloody battle, fought on the 2nd of May, between Leipsic and Weissenfels, in which the Allies had remained masters of the field; a few hours after, a letter from an officer, belonging to one of Blucher's corps, was posted up, which, however, gave no satisfactory information; presently after, another placard, under this letter, announced, that, on the 3rd of May, the French had again left Leipsic. Towards noon the baggage of the Prussian princes re-entered Dresden; and, some hours after, the King of Prussia himself returned; he was followed by several waggon-loads of wounded and separate detachments; among others, by the Prussian volunteers, who had shed their blood at the important affair of Lutzen. A fresh requisition was made for the necessary articles for establishing an hospital for the officers, and their supply was urgently pressed. The report of a victory was still kept up; but it was added, that it had been dearly bought by the Allies, particularly by the Prussians. At night-fall, the Emperor of Russia also arrived, and immediately repaired to the King; his serene air, and some encouraging words, which he addressed to the

crowd that pressed about his carriage, appeared to confirm the good news ; several of the inhabitants gave a serenade to the two sovereigns, by torch-light, and saluted the victors with joyful acclamations, a thousand times repeated.

When, however, during the night, whole wagon-loads of wounded, and of baggage, were seen passing over to the right bank of the river, the public anxiety was increased, although an endeavour was made to diminish it, by reporting that the Emperor, before the battle, had given orders, that all superfluous baggage should be removed to the other shore of the Elbe, in order to avoid an unnecessary consumption of provisions on the left bank, and to afford greater freedom to the movements of the army.

On the 5th of May, indeed, some cannon had been planted not far from the bridge, to celebrate, as was said, the victory by salutes of artillery, and tickets of admission were distributed for a religious ceremony in the Russian chapel ; but the solemnity did not take place, and an official report concerning the military events was vainly expected. The hospitals were filled, although soldiers dangerously wounded alone were admitted ; those but slightly hurt were

sent to some other place, or quartered on the citizens. For the space of three days, the transportation of these unfortunate victims of war, was incessantly carried on ; the most considerable of these convoys arrived on the fifth : the Emperor chancing to meet it, stopped several times to speak to the wounded ; the interest he seemed to take in their sufferings, appeared to alleviate them. The sight of the wounded Prussians was indeed most afflicting. Since the day of the engagement, they had not enjoyed a moment's rest. Here might be seen a brave warrior, forgetful of his own sufferings, deploring the death of his comrade ; there another, regardless of his wounds, accusing fate for having refused victory to valour. There was not a single man but had determined to shed the last drop of his blood in the cause. " The stroke has not touched the heart !" exclaimed several of the wounded : and whilst still enveloped in bandages, returned to their ranks.

On the 6th of May, a preliminary Prussian account appeared concerning the battle of Gross-Görschen ; with a relation, written in French, dated the 3rd instant, and drawn up by the Russians on

the field of battle itself. By these it appeared that the Allies, although they had gained some advantages, had been forced by the movements of the enemy's army, to abandon their position, for a time to renounce the offensive, and fall back upon the Elbe, in order to approach their reserve.

It, however, seems, that this resolution was partly dictated by more important considerations of another kind; arising from the reciprocal connexion of the different powers, and founded upon the hope that the governments, which had not renounced the idea of recovering their independence, by a well-calculated use of their own strength, would not hesitate to join those who were already in arms to attain that object.

On the 6th, in the evening, it was reported, that the French were advancing in force upon the Mulde; already separate columns of Russian infantry and artillery were coming up, and it became evident that the allied army was about to retire upon the right bank of the Elbe. Occasionally, a file of carriages might be seen which the sutlers were once more lading with brandy and provisions; sometimes a pulk of Cossacks driving before them a herd of cows, then an escort

charged with provisions, or a troop of Baskirs, each with a quiver full of arrows at his back ; farther on, the eye was perhaps afflicted with the sight of a convoy of wounded.

Although the intrenchments near the bridge of boats were not completed, they were put in a state of defence and furnished with artillery. Preparations of defence were made at Meissen, where Blucher established his head-quarters on the 7th, and all the boats were conveyed to the right bank. That apprehension which anticipates and exaggerates calamity, already suggested all those evils with which a retreating army generally marks its route. In the afternoon of the 7th, numerous trains of artillery and divisions of infantry and cavalry passed over the bridge ; and when Count Wittgenstein and other Russian generals arrived at night in Dresden, and all the Prussians, quartered in the city, were transferred to the new town, the head-quarters were hourly expected to abandon the left bank of the Elbe. Several inhabitants of the city were arrested, particularly foreigners who were suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the French, and were sent into Silesia. The

same day, the King of Prussia passed some hours at Meissen, in order to see a part of his troops defile, who, from the 7th to the 8th, were passing over to the right bank of the river near that town and Muhlberg.

On the 7th also, the advanced guard of the French was already between Nossen and Wilsdruf, three or four leagues from Dresden. During the whole day a cannonade was heard. On the following night, the fires of the Russians, on the heights and the bank of the river, illuminated all the environs of the city, the whole of the troops were in readiness for departure; and the fear of seeing, on the following morning, an engagement at the very gates of Dresden, did not appear totally unfounded.

On the 8th, the Emperor set out at break of day for Bischofswerda; during the night, the planks which had replaced the broken arch of the bridge, were covered with straw and bags of combustibles; the smoke and flames which were discovered at break of day to the south-east of Dresden, pointed out the road by which the enemy's army was approaching. Some hours after, the troops, which formed the rear-guard of

the Russian army, crossed the Elbe by the three bridges; and thus a retreat was effected which had been wisely projected and executed with confidence.

At sight of the orderly manner in which the marches were conducted throughout, it became easy to give credit to the statement of the Russian officers, who affirmed, that their army had, at first, been briskly pursued by the French; but as it assumed such an imposing appearance, it was not molested on the retreat, until the troops had quitted their bivouac of the preceding night.

When the last of the allied troops had left the old town, the inhabitants anxiously awaited the event. All the shops were shut up, and the numerous caricatures and prints, which, for some weeks past, had filled the booksellers' windows were scrupulously concealed.

The French followed the Russian light infantry and the Cossacks, who, after having skirmished for a short time, near the barrier of Freyberg, upon the Wilsdruf road, withdrew over the bridge of boats, and that of rafts constructed below the city. The latter was destroyed by the Russians, as soon as they had reached the right bank, and



hardly had the last of the Cossacks crossed over the wooden bridge, that had been constructed to replace the broken arch, than the flames were seen arising from it ; the planks of which it was composed were blown into the air with loud concussion, and in the space of a quarter of an hour the bridge was consumed. The flames made such a rapid progress, that some suttlers' carts, laden with provisions and brandy, became their prey, and were drawn along in that burning state with great rapidity by the affrighted horses. Crowds were soon formed about the blazing carriages ; they snatched portions of meat from them ; the vehicles, and the casks which they contained, were deluged with water, and the Cossacks were seen drinking brandy, their favourite beverage, out of the kennel. The attention of another group was attracted by a waggoner left behind, whose vehicle was laden with tobacco ; every one carried off what he could, formed it into a bundle, and attached this store behind his saddle with the hay.

In the mean time the French army, under the command of the Viceroy, and the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, advanced on the Wilsdruf road.

The principal posts in the old town were afterwards occupied by General Grundler, chief of the staff of the 11th corps; another division of French troops advanced towards the bridge of boats above the city, and it was affirmed that the Russian General, Korf, intrusted with the command of the *tête-de-pont*, had received orders from his sovereign not to defend those fortifications, and to divert every kind of danger from the city. The Russians, after having fired some cannon-shot from the works, retired from that point, and every other, without loss, and with the greatest composure. Towards noon the bridge, formed of twenty-six large boats, was fired at either end, and loosened from the shore: it floated down the river, passed between the two divisions of the city, emitting torrents of flame, and clouds of smoke; its progress was at length arrested by the stone bridge, where the remnant was consumed.

The deputies of the municipality, and some members of the *Immediate Commission*, had repaired to receive Napoleon at the city gates. The Emperor of the French, who was on horseback, made the circuit of the town, and imme-

diately after inspected, in his way, the bridge-head. He then proceeded to the timber-yard before the Pirna Gate, and did not make his entry into the city till the afternoon, passing through a lane formed by the civic guard. He went through Dresden without stopping, and repaired to the village of Priessnitz, in order to select a place, at the distance of a league, for the bridge of boats, which was to be constructed as speedily as possible. The necessary workmen, and materials for the purpose, were put in requisition, without delay. When Napoleon had given the orders requisite on this head, he proceeded to the royal palace, where the officers of the court, and the different authorities, were in attendance. On the same day, the *ci-devant* ambassador from Saxony to the court of France was commissioned to repair to the King, in order to prevail on him promptly to return to his capital. In the evening the city was illuminated by superior orders.

While the scene was thus changing in the old town, the inhabitants of the other side of the river were astonished by the ringing of the bells of all the parish churches, the signal of Napoleon's arrival. The King of Prussia had only quitted the

new town the same day, at noon, to establish his head-quarters in the village of Weissig, on the Bautzen road, two leagues distant from Dresden. General Miloradowitsch commanded the Russian rear-guard, which occupied the new town. Strong columns of Russian and Prussian troops, and imposing preparations, gave rise to the most serious alarm. A battery was soon established upon the right bank, at the entrance of the bridge, cannon were planted on the ramparts, and, at noon, the balls were crossing each other in their passage from either shore. However, the firing soon ceased on both sides; during the night all was quiet, and the fires of the bivouacs alone testified the presence of the two armies, separated by the river. The rising sun was saluted by the roaring of cannon, on either shore a well-supported fire was sustained from the ramparts, and the fire of musketry from the windows of the guard-house, occupied by the Russian carabineers, and the chasseurs of the free corps of Reiche, threatened every one who ventured to appear in the square before the catholic church with destruction. From the roof and the steeple of that building the French were firing on the new town. An inten-

tion had been demonstrated of lining the windows of the Japanese palace with soldiers, who were to direct their fire on the opposite shore ; but M. Lipsius, one of those to whom the treasures of science and art contained in the building, were intrusted, succeeded in averting the threatened calamity. The Russian general in chief gave strict orders for respecting this national establishment, as soon as he was apprized of its contents.

The cannon-balls and bullets fell in showers on both quarters of the city ; some howitzer shells, thrown from the right bank, reached the buildings in the old town, but no serious damage in consequence occurred. Several of the inhabitants, emboldened by curiosity, were killed or wounded. In this action the Russians had only a few men wounded, many of the French were killed at the entrance of the bridge. Some French workmen had penetrated by the help of ladders into the ruins of the broken arch, and appeared busied in clearing away the rubbish, in order to prepare for the restoration of the passage, but the fire of the Russian cannon obliged them to desist.

Lower down, opposite the village of Priess-

nitz, the engagement was much more obstinate. During the night the French had made the necessary arrangements for restoring the bridge of rafts; and, at break of day, they began the work. The Russians, in order to obstruct it, had established a battery upon the right bank, near the village of Pieschen. Some French soldiers passed the river in fishing boats, to attack the Russian tirailleurs; but were so warmly received that they were obliged to be followed up by the boats with the greatest celerity, in order that the killed and wounded might be replaced. The fire continued without interruption, from nine in the morning till about noon; the Russian artillery destroyed the works which had been begun, and the French were constrained to abandon their undertaking. Still, with the exception of a few pauses, the fire was kept up in the city. The whole of the new town was converted into a camp; in the side streets, which were sheltered from the fire, the horses and carriages were placed, near these the soldiers of the train took up their quarters: in the sheltered places the Russian chasseurs were drying their cloaks and linen on their muskets, placed in

piles ; intrepid boys picked up the lead in the streets exposed to the fire, and the volunteers melted down, re-cast, and discharged it back to the enemy.

The curious multitude, already familiarized with the tumult of arms, approached nearer and nearer to the shore, till the cannon-balls, scattering the earth about them, recalled them to prudence. Public apprehension was increased by several alarming rumours, but it was shortly after ascertained, that the greater part of the Allied army had continued its march, on the preceding day, along the roads of Lusatia, and that the smaller divisions, remaining in the environs of the city, had no other object than to secure the retreat, by annoying the enemy. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the greater part of the troops still remaining in the streets of the new town, began their march with their artillery, and pursued their way along the shore of the Elbe, on account of the French troops that had assembled on the left bank below the city. A fire of musketry alone, was kept up near the bridge ; but the troops, who had departed, soon returned into the city, augmented in numbers ; artillery

was again planted before the bridge, the fire recommenced with considerable vivacity; at length, towards the approach of night, it entirely ceased. No sound of cannon disturbed the period of repose until sun-rise. During the night the major part of the Russian troops quitted the shore of the Elbe, and about four o'clock in the afternoon their rear-guard, with its artillery, was seen on its march towards Bautzen. The highest eulogium which can be conferred on the Russians, is that their departure was beheld with regret; and that the French, who styled themselves friends and deliverers, were expected with uneasiness.

Some hours after the departure of the Russians, the French voltigeurs climbed over the interval of the broken arch \*, and placed themselves as advanced posts upon the main road. Some Calmucks were still wheeling about near the gate; from time to time they stood up on their horses, and with their little piercing eyes reconnoitred the French. About ten o'clock several divisions of light infantry had already crossed the river; they advanced upon the roads to Lusatia. During the whole of the day the troops were passed over

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\* By means of long fire-ladders. See Vol. I. p. 75.



to the right bank by all possible means; an extraordinary activity was exhibited in conveying over artillery in ferry boats. French workmen were incessantly employed in clearing the rubbish from the broken arch, and in constructing a timber bridge over the chasm. In the afternoon Napoleon himself visited the works, and delivered to the King's architect designs for a scaffold, at once simple and light, for the purpose of replacing the part destroyed \*.

The new town, which, for two months past, had suffered more from the calamities of war than the old, was now burthened with fresh impositions. In the former a scarcity of bread had been experienced for several days, because the mills were on the opposite side; and the same motives which had occasioned the destruction of the boats had dictated that of the mills on the left bank. The troops coming from the exhausted countries had concentrated themselves upon it, and either occupied the old town, or the surrounding heights, which occasioned an extreme

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\* The *Moniteur* has given a very imperfect relation on one side, and very exaggerated on the other, concerning the occurrences at Dresden, on the 8th and 10th.

scarcity on that side of the Elbe, of many most indispensable articles. The first measure adopted on the arrival of the French, was the publication of an ordinance, by which the inhabitants were enjoined, without delay, and under the severest penalties, in cases of concealment, to make an exact declaration, even at night, if required, of their stores of meal. As soon as the French had crossed the river, a requisition for bread was made on the right bank, notwithstanding the dearth that afflicted the country. The second ordinance, which was published after the arrival of the French, related to marauders. Napoleon gave orders for the formation of a body of thirty Saxon *gendarmes*, who, under command of a French officer of *gendarmérie*\*, set out to scour the road from Dresden to Pegau, in order to clear it of the pillagers by whom it was infested. But it

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\* The French *gendarmérie* are a sort of mounted military police, composed of veteran soldiers, who have retired from more active service. They are placed on a respectable footing; each man provides his own horse, and receives regular pay, which becomes a sort of pension for his past services. In this campaign, when every nerve was strained to replace the losses sustained in Russia, the *gendarmérie* were probably constrained to march; under Napoleon they consisted of twenty-eight legions, one of which was styled, *la légion d'élite*. ED.

appears that the mischief had been done before the remedy was applied, for, on the first arrival of the French, the plundered articles had been sold in the streets.

The new temporary bridge was completed on the morning of the 21st of May; its construction was so light that it appeared to totter, but was, in fact, very secure. It was instantly employed for the passage of the cavalry, infantry, and artillery, of the 4th, 6th, 11th, and 12th corps. The march of the troops continued without interruption till night. These corps formed a well equipped army of 60 or 70,000 men, consisting of French, Germans, and Italians. Napoleon, surrounded by a numerous retinue, remained seated, for several hours, on one of the stone seats of the bridge, beholding his troops defile before him. During this march, on the eastern side of the city, torrents of flame and smoke were seen to arise, the effects of the conflagration of the village of Schmiedefeld, which became the first sacrifice to the devastation that menaced, on the approach of the French, the hitherto fortunate plains on the right bank of the river.

The King of Saxony arrived at his capital four

days after the French had made their entry. Napoleon had sent a detachment of the cavalry of the guard, commanded by his *aid-de-camp* General Flahault, to meet him as an escort on the frontiers of Bohemia. The King slept at the castle of Sedlitz.

On the 12th, at break of day, the troops were drawn up on the Pirna road above the great garden; their lines extended to the gates of the city, and the imperial guard formed a lane in those streets through which the royal train was to pass. At the moment of the King of Saxony's arrival, Napoleon was passing his troops in review, and the King remained for some time in attendance at the great garden; at length an *aid-de-camp* came to inform him that Napoleon awaited him near Gruna, a village by the side of the great garden. The deputies of the municipality had repaired to the outer gate, and were presented by a French officer to the King, who was on horseback by the side of the Emperor; the King referred them to Napoleon who sent them back again to him. After a dumb scene, Napoleon broke silence:— "Saxons," said he! "attend; behold your preserver!"

pointing to the King. "I know that some evil-  
" disposed persons are among you, who have  
" favoured the Russians and Prussians, but I  
" pardon all for the sake of your King. If your  
" Sovereign," added he, " had not proved himself  
" so faithful an ally, I would have treated Saxony  
" as a conquered country; but my army shall  
" only pass through her territory, and I shall find  
" means to defend her from all her enemies."  
The orator from the deputies began his harangue  
with these words: "The children of the country  
" rejoice again to behold their protector——."  
"What do they say?" interrupted Napoleon.—  
"What their sovereign has directed," was the reply.  
"Well, be it as it may," rejoined the Emperor,  
"what I have said, shall be printed and pub-  
lished\*." The train then marched on through

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\* Napoleon's impatience, when addressed in a language he did not understand, has been already remarked; he had probably as little respect for the professions of the deputies of Dresden, as for those which he received from the citizens of Leipsic after the battle of Lutzen. In detailing the following anecdote, it will be necessary to observe that after the reverses experienced by the French in Russia, an association was set on foot by the Prussians in Silesia, under the denomination of *the Corps of Revenge*. This body was composed of volunteers, who solemnly swore never to lay down their arms, until Germany had recovered her independence. When Leipsic was occupied by the Allies, the *Corps*

the line of military, to the ringing of bells, the salute of artillery, and acclamations. Some hours after, the speech which Napoleon had addressed to the authorities, was posted up in all the streets in French and German \*. But almost at the very moment of reliance on the promise, that Saxony

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*of Revenge* received considerable accession to its numbers from the students of the university, respectable young men of the city, and other parts of Saxony. The citizens of Leipsic had on a former occasion even gone so far as to invite Colonel Orloff with his Cossacks, to relieve them from their oppressive visitors the French, who had loaded them with exactions of every kind. Napoleon was well aware of all this, and took the opportunity of acquainting the deputies of Leipsic with his recognition of their real sentiments. "I know," said he, "that a *Corps of Revenge* as it is styled, has been formed among you; but after all, it is a contemptible piece of childish nonsense, which can be of no service whatever." On the deputies assuring him of the perfect submission of the city, in all the ceremonial phrase of hollow-hearted formality,

———"The mouth honour, breath,

Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not,"

He dismissed them with the abrupt and contemptuous expression — *Allez vous en*, "Get along with you!" Soon after his entrance into Dresden, he declared Leipsic in a state of siege, by which act the citizens were constrained to furnish all the requisitions for the French army without remuneration. Immense sums were in a short time drained from the unfortunate inhabitants. The supply of the French hospitals alone cost 30,000 dollars per week. ED.

\* The placard gave the spirit of the speech without adhering to the letter.

should be sheltered from all the calamities which a pitiless conqueror inflicts on the vanquished: the French set fire to the four quarters of Bischofswerda and pillaged that unfortunate town, which the Russians had abandoned in their retreat. The *Moniteur* boldly ascribes this crime to the Russians.

On the 13th of May, the Duke of Reggio's division arrived, and was followed by the Bavarian troops which had been encamped for some days upon the left bank of the Elbe. Since the 14th, Russian prisoners and a considerable number of French soldiers, wounded on the 12th and 13th near Bischofswerda and Stolpen, had entered Dresden. Two bridges of boats, one above, and another below the stone bridge, facilitated the march of the troops which was continued to the 17th of May.

While these columns were advancing towards Lusatia, the lines that were to be established round the new town were staked out. These fortifications were designed by General Rogniat, head of the engineer department. A part of the troops and thousands of peasants, drawn even from the most remote parts of Saxony, were em-

ployed without delay, for the purpose of expediting the construction of these works. Shortly after the road over the stone bidge was intersected near one of the piers, on the right bank, by strong palisades, in the centre of which was placed a very thick gate. The avenues leading to either bridge of boats were also defended by palisades, and garrisoned by Westphalian troops, who were lodged in huts. These precautions were as necessary for the present, as for the future ; for the Cossacks, who infested the neighbourhood of Dresden, might have essayed a *coup de main* upon the place. As soon as the transportation of a large quantity of stores, and hospital necessaries, to the left bank, had commenced, a report was spread that the Allies, who occupied a good position on the Spree, were approaching the Elbe.

On the 18th of May, Napoleon set out, soon after mid-day, and took the road to Bautzen, with a numerous suite. The Duke of Bassano, who had just arrived, took up his quarters, and established his offices at Dresden. General Durosnel, Napoleon's *aid-de-camp*, remained there, as commander-in-chief of all the troops in Saxony, and Count Dumas, as commissary-general of the army ;



both had a great number of persons employed in their respective departments.

Convoys of provisions, procured in Westphalia, Franconia, and even on the frontiers of France, were continually despatched to the army, which was marching forward on either bank of the Elbe, where the means of subsistence were exhausted. Saxony, however, supplied the greater part of the wants of the army. From the most remote districts of that country thousands of loaves, with meal, dry pulse, and brandy, were brought to be deposited at Dresden. The churches of Our Lady and the Orphans were converted into store-houses for provisions. The supplies of forage were not less considerable. The greatest abuses existed in that department; the effective number of horses at Dresden, and the number of rations daily required for them, were in a disproportion that could alone benefit the purse of the generals and superior official agents\*.

The first tidings of the battles of Bautzen and Hochkirk were followed, after the 23d of May, by

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\* One thousand rations per diem were required for the different official agents; and these had not more than 300 horses. Count Dumas, commissary-general of the army, had 100 rations to his own share.

the arrival of long files of wounded, transported either upon carts or wheel-barrows. Without exaggeration, the number of victims conveyed to Dresden, may be estimated at 20,000. A pretty considerable number of conscripts, who took the road to Dresden, had wounded themselves, in order that they might be rendered unfit for service. When this fraud was discovered, the soldiers who arrived from the theatre of war were carefully examined by the *gend'armes*. The bridge of boats was the only passage allowed to the wounded; when they presented themselves elsewhere, they were turned back by the sentinels, in order that they might not pass by the castle, and that the King might not see how many victims were sacrificed in a contest which drew so many misfortunes on his country. Several public buildings were converted into hospitals, and the Russians and Prussians who had been dangerously wounded, and left by the Allies in Dresden on their retreat, were removed in their beds to the old town, in order to make room in the new for the wounded French who had lately arrived. Those who were slightly hurt were frequently lodged with the citizens, a

measure which did not a little contribute to propagate infection in the city. In the mean time, the number of unfortunate sufferers was soon so multiplied, that a bed, or even lodging, could not immediately be afforded to each. The whole city assumed the appearance of a vast hospital. In the streets, choaked up with filth, were seen long files of wounded lying on the ground, uttering lamentable cries. Amputations were performed in the public squares. Every day unfortunate soldiers were crowding from private houses into the hospitals, and the precipitancy of the surgeons mutilated hundreds without necessity. Before some of the hospitals might be seen a heap of fingers or other members, which were tossed about in the sport of unthinking childhood.

The expense which the city of Dresden incurred, owing to the stay of the innumerable commissaries which followed the French armies, became an overwhelming burthen, when it was crowded at the same time with wounded. The ordinance of Count Durosnel, which directed all commissaries, and persons attached to the army who had not received orders or permission to remain at Dresden, to repair forthwith to their desti-

nation, in some degree relieved the inhabitants. It was proved, by the inspection of the billets of evacuated quarters, that thousands of the French, whose presence was in no respect necessary at Dresden, had caused themselves to be supported there for several weeks. According to the ordinance above-mentioned, the billets for quarters were to be renewed every month.

All the districts of the kingdom through which the troops had passed, suffered equally with the capital. The country was laid waste at the distance of several leagues from the track of the armies, and the greater number of villages upon the road were deserted. In many of the plains, the growing crops were trampled under the horses' hoofs, or had been cut while green. The Allies on the retreat, and the French on the advance, had pressed the husbandmen and their horses. Every day a certain number of these peasants were returning by the roads of Lusatia or Bohemia. Some highly extolled the Allies, who not only had restored their horses to them, but also given them money to support themselves on their return. Those who had been obliged to follow the French had no reason to congratulate themselves on similar

generosity; several of these who came back from Silesia, complained that they had despoiled them on their return of the money which they had received from the Russians, and had thus obliged them to beg their way home.

When the news of the armistice, concluded on the 4th of June, at Poischwitz, was diffused through Saxony, the hope of peace animated all hearts. Preparations were already making for the reception of Napoleon, who intended to pass the period of the armistice at Dresden. The Duke of Bassano went to inspect several gardens and country-houses in the environs of the city; he at last fixed on the garden of Count Marcolini, situated in the suburb of Frederickstadt. This pleasure-house had formerly belonged to Count de Bruhl, so well known for his magnificence, and had been embellished by the actual possessor, a man of much taste. According to a report universally spread, Napoleon, on his return to Dresden, towards the end of May, had been grievously wounded. He was suffering, it was said, in the apartments which he had before inhabited; the smallest light observed at that part of the castle confirmed these reports, which also stated that

he daily grew worse ; and, at length, that he was at the last extremity\*. I am ignorant of the origin of this tale ; perhaps, it might take its rise from the transportation of the body of Duroc, which passed through Dresden ; or from the illness of a *valet de chambre* belonging to the Emperor. This man had been sent by Napoleon to Dresden, in order to procure different articles which

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\* It may not be unamusing to observe the currency and shapes which inventive rumour gave to the report of Napoleon's illness. At Gottenburgh it was stated that he was sick of an old epileptic complaint, and that Berthier was on his death bed. The Pomeranian Gazette, in an article dated Stralsund, June 22, gave the following statement, which appears indeed to have been founded on the transportation of the body of Duroc : " The most anxious curiosity has been excited by the arrival of a sick person, who, for several days, has been in the Royal Palace at Dresden. On his approach to that capital, the carriage in which he was conveyed moved very slowly, and was attended by 800 cavalry. The road without the town was laid with dung covered with straw, and from the gate of the city all the streets through which the procession passed were not only strewn with straw, but also overlaid with cloth. The avenue to the palace, since this distinguished invalid became an inmate, has been closed by iron chains, against horses, carriages, and whatever could occasion the least noise. At all hours of the day, French physicians of the highest repute are hastening to the palace, and continue there for a considerable time. At the hours of public service in the churches, in order that the repose of this high personage may not be disturbed, the ringing of bells is strictly forbidden." ED.

he wanted when with the army, after all his effects had been destroyed by fire. The *valet de chambre* was certainly attended in the castle. Be this as it may, when Napoleon, on the 10th, arrived at Dresden at five o'clock in the morning, there were persons who went so far as to say, that a lay-figure, with a mask of wax, had been placed in his carriage, and moved by secret springs. The doubt of his real arrival was strengthened by not being announced by salutes of artillery, and the ringing of bells, for some hours after it took place. When he was seen on the following day, full of life, on horseback, in the extensive field called Ostrawiese, it could not be thought that he was at the last agony.

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## CHAPTER III.

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*Occupations of Napoleon and Amusements of his Court during the Armistice.—The defences of the City industriously improved.—Burthen of Military Quarters.—Contagious Fevers prevail.—Dissipation introduced by the Soldiery.—Celebration of the Emperor's Birth-day.—Resumption of Hostilities.—Napoleon advances against Blucher.—The Allies, strengthened by the accession of the Austrians, attack Dresden.—Napoleon promptly returns to its defence, turns the Left Wing of his enemy, and captures 10,000 Austrians.—Various particulars of the Battle.—Description of the Field after its termination.*

**DURING** the armistice, Dresden presented the animated scene of a camp; and on the frontiers of Saxony the Allies were collecting all their forces, for the purpose of shaking off the foreign yoke. Napoleon was draining his last resources, in order to rivet the fetters of Germany, and to prop the tottering edifice of his power.

All these preparations indicated that Dresden and its neighbourhood would long become the camp of the French army. Already several French actors were on their way to the city, for the French said that their warriors had at all times been accustomed to relax from the toils of the field with Thalia



and Melpomene. Talma, Saint Prix, Armand, the amiable Mars, and, shortly after, Mademoiselle Georges, who was returning from St. Petersburg, were among the number of actors who performed in a theatre, constructed for the purpose, in the Marcolini palace. They once, however, played before a more numerous audience in the little opera-house. M. de Turenne, Napoleon's chamberlain, gave tickets for the places unoccupied by the Emperor and his suite. When Napoleon was present, no one was admitted but in court dress, and many preferred depriving themselves of the sight of actors so excellent (especially in the comic line,) to submitting to that inconvenience.

The reviews which every day took place, afforded another spectacle to the inhabitants of Dresden. The troops passed before Napoleon in the Ostrawiese, because it was the most open space near the palace he inhabited. The day after his arrival there was a review of 10 or 12,000 men, infantry and cavalry, under the command of General Bertrand. These troops came from Italy, and continued their march on the very same day towards Lusatia. On the 13th, *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches, accompanied by salutes of artillery, on occasion of the armistice, and in

the evening the city was illuminated by direction of superior authority. Of all the illuminations by command, by which so many events, productive of fatal consequences, had, for seven years past, been celebrated, this certainly was the most pitiful. Indeed, the hopes of peace, founded upon the armistice, were so slight; the prospect of its durability, and the restoration of the independence of nations, so vague, that the public mind could not give way to rejoicing; every one felt the sufferings of the moment, but what were these sufferings in comparison with those in preparation?

The journey which Napoleon took on the 20th of June to Pirna, and to visit the defiles of Bohemia, turned the general attention towards Austria, who, up to that time, had been expected to act as a Mediator, but who now, on the contrary, was about to realize the hopes she had given the Allied army, when her forces recrossed the Elbe in the month of May; namely, that she would assist, with all her power, in crowning the struggle of the coalesced nations with success. Austria appeared to assume an attitude decidedly inimical to France. Persons were now no longer permitted to pass from Saxony into Bohemia, with the exception of

those who went to drink the waters, and then bad health was obliged to be expressly mentioned in their passports as the motives of their journey. A report was spread, that imposing preparations were making in Austria and Bohemia, which were nearly accomplished, and the great defensive works that the French were constructing, with as much ability as promptitude, on either bank of the Elbe, where the Bohemian defiles debouch, attested that public rumour was right. This formidable line of defence extended from Giesshubel to Stolpen, the antient castle of which, built upon a basaltic rock, was strengthened by new works; these, however, were not completed. The fortifications established at the foot of Lilienstein, a steep rock, was a very important point in the line; they communicated, by means of two bridges with K  nigstein, situated in their front, and were to protect a camp of 60,000 men, cover both shores, and defend the defiles which debouch in that place. A practicable road for artillery, cut over the hills of the bailiffwick of Hohnstein, facilitated the communication with the *corps d'arm  e* in Silesia. All these fortifications were considered but as the out-works of Dresden, the central point

of a strong position on the upper bank of the Elbe, which was daily improving. The works upon the right bank, about the new town, were nearly perfected; the imperial redoubt before the black gate, the strongest and most carefully constructed of these works, was furnished with a new bomb-proof block-house; other considerable fortifications, projected to surround the old town, were staked out; they rested, on the western side, upon the Weisseritz, a small river which separates the old town from Frederickstadt; and, on the eastern, extended in a circle as far as the Elbe. Some thousands of peasants, put in requisition in the most distant parts of Saxony, at a time when agricultural labours required every hand, were occupied in putting Dresden in a formidable state of defence; they were regularly paid and relieved every fortnight. Small divisions of troops, of every arm, were daily arriving, accompanied by artillery; some of these corps had come with all expedition from Spain. They were destined to repair the losses that the main army had sustained since the month of May, or to reinforce the troops under huts in the forests, on the right bank, near the city; this camp was more than a league in extent. Napoleon

went in person to inspect them on the 25th of June. In the midst of these preparations, the French conversed much in earnest concerning the approaching peace; the hope of an arrangement between the powers, revived, when Count Metternich, the Austrian minister, came to Dresden, from the camp of the Emperor Alexander; he remained in the capital from the 26th to the 30th of June.

Notwithstanding all this, persons of reflection, who expected that the emancipation of Germany would be the result of the renewal of the contest, did not give credit to the probability of peace; even when a report was generally spread, that the armistice was about to be prolonged, followed by a rumour of a convention just concluded between France and Austria. The suspension of military operations appeared to clear-sighted observers but a prolongation of the overwhelming burthens imposed on the city of Dresden, by the stay of the troops. It is true, indeed, that considerable supplies for the army were brought from distant parts, even from France, convoys of flour, biscuit, and rice. Saxony was, notwithstanding, obliged to make great efforts to meet the requisi-

tions of the army: from the middle of July forage was so scarce in the circle of Misnia, which had suffered so much in every respect, that all the oats were put in requisition, with the exception only of a portion for the support of those horses absolutely necessary to the labours of the land-owners. Those persons who kept pleasure horses were commanded to contribute, to the stores, the whole of the forage for their subsistence. Whatever the consumption of the troops in the circle of Misnia, speculation equally contributed to produce a scarcity, for the commissaries of stores had always a quantity of disposable forage, for those who could pay them ready money.

Although, in the month of August, Count Narbonne had repaired to Prague, and M. de Caulincourt had followed him thither, after long delays, Dresden and its environs assumed, towards the end of the month, a still more warlike aspect. The hospitals were nearly cleared of their patients. The Saxon troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, destined to complete the division under General Regnier, encamped near Goerlitz, had just been equipped; after Napoleon had reviewed them, on the 17th, they set

out with all expedition for Lusatia. On the frontiers of Bohemia were assembled, on either bank of the Elbe, a considerable body, under command of General Gouvion St. Cyr. This corps rested on the fortifications that had been lately completed, at the foot of Lilienstein. Napoleon made some excursions to inspect the troops encamped upon the line of demarcation prescribed by the armistice. Between the 10th and 15th he went to Torgau and Magdebourg, and from the 20th to the 22nd into Lower Lusatia, where the division of Marshal Oudinot was posted. In the midst of all these warlike preparations, the repair of the broken pier of the bridge had, however, been begun; and the work was carried on under the temporary wooden bridge, which had been erected across the void space; by the end of July, the pier had been carried up to the point for springing the two deficient arches\*.

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\* On the 8th of December, 1813, the wooden bridge, constructed by the French in the month of May, was thrown down. In the interval very solid arches of wood were erected, covered with strong planks; thus a firm bridge was formed, furnished with railings, which continued standing till the summer of 1814; at that period the stone arches were begun, and completed in the month of September in the same year. In the following year the works at the bridge were entirely finished.

Let us contemplate for a moment the state of the city of Dresden, whose unlucky stars had decreed it, as the centre of the French military operations.

It is true that certain individuals, and even whole classes of industrious artizans, had made considerable gains\*, and still continued to profit by the troubles of war. There was a great deal of money in circulation, but all this could not avert the ruin of the great majority of the inhabitants. The burthen of military quarterings† was aggravated when the head-quarters remained at Dresden, during the two months which the armistice lasted. At that period about 30,000 men were quartered in the city.—Frederickstadt,

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\* Never, for example, had the sale of maps been so considerable. The French superior officers, and, before they arrived, the Russians, paid extravagant prices for maps, which, under the existing circumstances and interrupted communications, were brought from distant places by circuitous ways. Those also who undertook to prepare quarters for the military, in the place of such inhabitants as could not themselves assist in receiving them, were also considerable gainers. At a later period, the house of more than one landlord passed into the hands of the person who had lodged the soldiers for him.

† No. XXIII. of the Appendix proves, that at the period in question, this species of oppression must have been almost insupportable.



which is inhabited by the poorer classes, suffered more than the other quarters of the town. The guard had been quartered there, in order that it might be near the Emperor, and many poor day-labourers expended all their wages in procuring provisions for their military guests; for those which were distributed from the magazines were insufficient to satisfy the demands of these soldiers, to which they had been little accustomed to set bounds; and the ordinance, published immediately after the armistice, concerning the manner in which the French, as well as the Allied troops, should be treated, was seldom put in force. Since the sick and wounded had been crowded together in ten hospitals in the city, and after the bloody engagements that had taken place in Lusatia, more especially when the French began to quarter a part of the invalids on the inhabitants, the seeds of contagion were multiplied, and nervous fevers generated, which completed the general calamity. From the beginning of June, several members of the local administration had been charged with the inspection of the sick and wounded, lodged in private houses, and directed to make reports concerning their state

and number. The town experienced considerable relief about the middle of the month, when a great number of the sick were sent down the Elbe, in boats; and others were transported in carriages to the frontiers of Franconia; the wounded, who had been quartered in the new town, were removed to an encampment, established before the gates of the old. In the following month a great number of vessels were despatched, laden with French soldiers, badly wounded.

The excesses of the troops, who, during the armistice, endeavoured to repay themselves with usury, for the privation and fatigue they had undergone, produced as pernicious effects on the morals of the people, as the contagious effluvia on their health. Doubtless, the effect of several years of war must be taken into the account; but it is, however, true, that the intercourse with foreigners augmented that corruption, whose progress became continually more rapid, particularly among the lower orders of people, who had the closer communication with the soldiers. This was a golden age for abandoned women, several of these enriched themselves to such a degree, as to amass property, and paid the money down

in Napoleons for houses which they purchased. An aversion to industrious occupation extended to the lowest classes of society. The facility afforded to either sex of obtaining a livelihood, and even of making a little fortune, by taking up the trade of suttler, made many individuals disdain daily labour. Monopoly being excited by the success of this kind of industry, the price of the principal necessities of life, was kept up; nor could the inspection of the markets, which was necessarily less strict, during a state of warfare, operate in restraining the abuse. This evil was, however, transitory; but the species of gain we have before alluded to, produced unhappy consequences of longer duration, and must be reckoned among the causes of depravity attributable to war. Even children devoted themselves to that pernicious commerce.

The desire of collecting some drops of the golden shower, which proceeded from the headquarters, had attracted speculators even from the bosom of France. Tailors were seen at Dresden, who had brought, from Paris or Strasburg, complete uniforms for officers; French boot-makers, and even shoe-blacks, came from the

banks of the Seine to those of the Elbe, to cry—  
*Cirer les bottes !*

The most credulous persons entirely renounced that hope of peace which they had cherished in the midst of warlike preparations, when the Emperor set out on the 25th of July for Mayence \*. Having returned to Dresden, on the 4th of August, every one was apprized that the anniversary of his birth would be celebrated in all the French camps, on the 10th instead of the 15th, which was the last day of the armistice. The report was circulated, that immediately after the *fête* all the armies would begin their march. The hospitals were nearly emptied, and ready to receive fresh victims of the war. Great activity was displayed in the preparations for the military festival. On the 9th of August, the French actors gave, at the theatre of the court, a gratuitous representation, particularly intended for the Emperor's guard. After the play, the solemnity of the following day was announced by salutes of artillery, which were repeated at day-break. From all the different camps the troops defiled towards the Ostrawiese ; on this field, whose flowerets

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\* To meet the Empress. See Vol. I. p. 247. Ed.

had been, for some months past, trampled beneath the feet of the soldiers and horses of the train, the infantry of the old and young guard was drawn up; the horse chasseurs and lancers of the guard all in full dress; the Saxon and Westphalian infantry, the cavalry of the duchy of Berg, and of the principality of Neufchatel. All these troops formed a magnificent army, at least of 40,000 men. When Napoleon appeared on the ground, accompanied by the King and Princes, who had repaired to his hotel by eight in the morning, in their state carriages, the *vivats* resounded as he passed along the ranks at a full gallop, attended by his brilliant suite; the word of command for these acclamations was given, according to custom, by the officers, the same as for an evolution. During two whole hours the troops were defiling before the hero of the festival, who, to judge from his looks, was revolving, in his mind, some new project of conquest. After the review, a train, composed of all the French generals, as well as those of their Allies, and the whole of the officers of the Emperor's court, headed by the Prince of Neufchatel, left, on foot, the palace of the Bruhl, where the last mentioned

personage resided. Passing through the lane, formed by the guard, this train proceeded to the catholic church, to assist at the *Te Deum*, which was sung, accompanied by the roaring of artillery. The King of Saxony and his family were present at this religious ceremony.

After the service the old guard, preceded by its music, marched to the new town, where tables were spread for a banquet, under the linden trees which border the principal street. Between the rows of tables intended for the soldiers, places were prepared for the officers under tents. Upon the table set apart for the generals, superior officers, and officers of the French and Saxon guards, was placed the bust of Napoleon, crowned with laurels, and surrounded by flowers. Near the tables bands of warlike music were stationed, in order to enliven the feast. On that day every officer and soldier of the guard received double pay, and each soldier a double ration of meat. The King of Saxony had given several thousand bottles of wine. Thus was the Saxon guard, at the expense of their own sovereign, regaled by their companions in arms. Toasts were drunk to salutes of artillery. The wine soon rendered

the banquet noisy, on either side of the tables was a moving crowd of spectators, some of whom partook, on that day, of the hospitable liberality of the troops, whom they had, for months, supported at their proper cost; detached soldiers, stealing from their hospital, or some distant camp, where imperial munificence had been less lavish of her gifts, mingled in the crowd, and, perchance, obtained some fragments of bread, portion of salad, or a bit of meat, which their more favoured companions in arms had rejected. Similar feasts were given in the other quarters of the new town, and in the camps before the old, where the French and Saxon artillerymen were assembled in a public garden, and the sappers of the two armies caroused together, in the imperial redoubt before the black gate.

At eight in the evening Napoleon repaired to the royal palace for the banquet. About nine salutes of artillery announced that the healths of Napoleon and Maria Louisa were given; this was, at the same time, a signal for the fire-works, prepared in front of the palace, upon a pier of the bridge. Upon the right bank, near Ubigau, at the distance of half a league from the new town,

some regiments of the guard had been posted, who kept up a brisk firing by files, whilst others discharged fire-works and hand mortars in the air, towards the new town, from either side of the bridge. An azure sky gave a charming effect to the multitude of rockets, which crossed each other in their flight over the dark roofs of the city, illuminating the air far and wide. They were reflected in the waters of the Elbe, whose glowing stream rolled on in silence between the towns. After a pause the cipher of Napoleon appeared in the air, above the palace, in the balconies of which he had taken his station. The acclamations of the soldiers resounded from the other shore, thousands of petards burst with loud report in the air, the surface of the river again glittered with innumerable fires. The atmosphere at length was illumined by a single globe of light, the waters of the Elbe flowed on, no longer splendid, through the broken arch, and the crowded throng of spectators was about to disperse, when the doleful cries of a fisherman resounded on the shore, who having imprudently approached too near was mortally wounded. Was this an omen of the dreadful career of the hero of the *fête*?



An illumination terminated this last apotheosis of Napoleon. We shall not weary our readers by long details of this brilliant and useless display; we will not describe the decorations with which Count Dursonel surrounded an inscription, in which he styled that man *invincible*, who, a few weeks after, was to take leave, on his retreat, of the fortune which he had abused. We shall content ourselves with recording another that had *glory* and *conquest* for its subject, omitting also to speak of its accompanying emblems.

“Incolumem servate, instant majora peractis.”

“Preserve him safe, ye gods; greater things are yet to be achieved.”

This was placed over the portal of M. de Serra, the French ambassador's hotel; and was accomplished, luckily for Europe, in a very different sense than the learned panegyrist intended.

Two days after this festival the movements began which were to deliver, for a time, at least, the city of Dresden, from her troublesome guests. The grand Saxon park of artillery, which had remained in the capital, set off, on the 12th, for

Lusatia. On the following night it was followed by several covered waggons ; the next day the *gendarmerie* of the guard, several divisions of the young and old guard began their march, and took the Bautzen road.

How many amorous connexions, formed during the period of the armistice, were discovered at the moment of departure. How many damsels followed the soldiers of the old guard. Some bathed in tears, bade their lovers farewell at the gate; others, retained by stronger ties, courageously accompanied them on the high road. Apparently for the purpose of preventing the inconveniencies of such connexions, some days before the departure of the guard, a sentence passed at Glogau, according to the French laws, was posted up, by which a woman, who had induced a soldier to desert, was condemned to hard labour.

Early in the morning of the 14th, the King of Naples, who was to take the command of the French cavalry, arrived at Dresden. On the same day Count Bubna, who had conducted the negotiation between the Courts of France and Austria, quitted the city. On the ramparts of the old town and the outworks, several pieces of cannon

were placed, part of which was taken from the fortress of Kœnigstein; posts were established in the great garden, and a quantity of ammunition was transported to the fortifications of the new town. On the 13th of August, Count Narbonne returned from Prague; two hours after his arrival, Napoleon quitted the city, and took the Bautzen road, going through Pirna, where he crossed the Elbe, and proceeded by way of Stolpen. For some days the approaching departure of the King had been announced; but it was soon known that he would not quit his capital, and the preparations for the departure of his brothers were also countermanded. The Emperor had, it was said, declared that the King's departure ought not to be contemplated, unless he, Napoleon, had been beaten.

The Prince of Neufchatel followed Buonaparte with the officers attached to head-quarters, and the divisions of the guard, on the same day. On the 16th, the King of Naples set out for Bautzen. After these numerous departures, which temporarily diminished the burthens of the city, a certain number of official departments, and a whole army of commissaries, still remained behind.

From that moment, Dresden became the centre of all the movements of the French army, and the key to its positions in Saxony. It was converted into an intrenched camp, provided with a garrison sufficiently numerous, and having for its barriers, on either side of the river, Koenigstein and Lilienstein, it might oppose a vigorous resistance to every hostile undertaking of the enemy. After the departure of Napoleon, the works on the fortifications were continued with the greatest activity, especially those on the left bank, on the Pirna and Freyberg roads. Draw-bridges were constructed before the inner gates of the city, the outlets of some streets towards the half-demolished ramparts, on the left of the Wilsdruf-gate, were closed with palisades. The inhabitants of several houses situated in the line of the rampart, near the Wilsdruf and Pirna gates, and near Seethoor, were obliged to quit them, and they were converted into small forts. A commandant was appointed to each suburb.

Whilst these preparations for defence were making at Dresden, a new army, well equipped, under the command of General Vandamme, about 40,000 strong, composed for the greater part of infantry,

and furnished with a numerous artillery, was crossing the Elbe, from the 17th to the 19th of August, and repaired to the theatre of war; it arrived on the Lower Elbe, and having passed over to the right bank, approached the frontiers of Bohemia. Each of its divisions took up their station successively in the wood of Dresden, where the barracks, abandoned by the troops who had gone forward, were still in existence. The first division that had arrived gave place to that which followed, and continued to advance along the Bautzen road.

This army had scarcely completed its march when contradictory rumours were afloat, concerning the progress of the French arms, till at last Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, who had been intrusted to guard the defiles of Bohemia, on the right bank of the Elbe, removed his head-quarters on the evening of the 22nd of August, from Pirna to Dresden. A report was spread that his division, estimated at 20,000 men, had been beaten by the Allies, near Giesshubel, and that, after a series of engagements, it had been forced to abandon its position on Hollenberg. Many of the wounded who came from that quarter, confirmed that the French were briskly pursued by the Allies. When it was

known that the Russians, under the command of General Wittgenstein, had, on the 22d of August, carried the fortifications of Pirna by assault, and that they were advancing without any possibility of being checked, alarm was entertained for the fate of Dresden. According to some, the attack of the capital of Saxony formed originally a part of the plan conceived by Moreau ; others said, that the prompt retreat of Marshal St. Cyr upon that city, and the rapidity with which Napoleon advanced upon Marshal Blucher, induced the Allies to change their first plan, and concentrate their forces upon the rear of the grand French army. However, if it be observed that, from Dresden Napoleon could give any direction he chose to his offensive operations ; that the Allies on every attack towards the east, saw that their rear was threatened, if the French should be forced to maintain a defensive war, it must appear probable that the capture of so important a point entered originally into the plan of the operations of the allied army.

The same evening, by order of the commandant, the gates of the city were closed at half-past eight, and those of the suburbs at nine. The next day, the

23d of August, at a very early hour, lines of French infantry were seen upon the heights between Leuben and Rœknitz, at less than the distance of half a league from the city. A fire of musketry was heard close at hand, and the Cossacks appeared in the distance. The French were repulsed as far as the intrenchments of the suburbs. The cavalry, the baggage, and the wounded, entered in crowds by all the gates. The fears of the inhabitants continually increased. Those of the suburbs which were threatened, made their escape in shoals into the city. Already water was conveyed to the tops of the buildings.

It is known that the combined armies of the Russians and Prussians entered Bohemia on the very same day (the 12th of August,) that Austria had declared war against France \*; they had united, on the 17th, with the Austrian forces, and this triple allied army, of which the Prince of Schwartzenberg had the chief command, had entered Saxony in four divisions; the Austrians, forming a very extended semicircle, had taken the road through Commotau; the Russians and Prus-

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\* The manifesto of Austria, worthy of a place by the side of that of 1809, may be found in the 4th sheet of *Altenstucke für die Deutschen*

sians, under command of Wittgenstein and Kleist, advanced by the Pirna road. Whilst an army of inferior numbers was to remain upon the frontiers of Silesia, in order to occupy the enemy, the principal forces were to menace the grand French army that was marching forward, by throwing themselves upon the road of communication ; thus protecting Silesia, and the marquisate of Brandenburg.

After the arrival of the King of Naples, on the 24th of August, the preparations of defence daily became more serious, and the moment of a sanguinary engagement did not appear far distant. In the afternoon, the King of Naples, on horseback, approached the heights occupied by the Russians, to reconnoitre their position ; he was much exposed during this observation to the balls both of the infantry of the advanced posts, and of the cavalry, who approached with much boldness. The very same evening the cannon were fired on the ramparts of the city, on account of the victories gained in Silesia, which a bulletin posted up in the streets mentioned with much stress. It therein was stated that Blucher's army was in full retreat. However, it afterwards appeared that



this pretended retreat was nothing but a well-calculated manœuvre, attached to the plan of the campaign. By making a great noise about these feigned victories, the French sought rather to elevate the spirits of the inhabitants of Dresden, than to impose upon the enemy. In the mean time the Allies drew nearer and nearer to the city, and the line of their advanced posts extended from Blasewitz to the heights of the village of Plauen.

On the 25th, in the morning, the army descended into the plain. The head-quarters of Count Wittgenstein was at Lockwitz; the cannonade began with day-light, and the enemy essayed some attacks upon the advanced works, but without sustaining these efforts vigorously. The French withdrew closer to the city, partly towards the exterior fortifications near the gates, partly towards the gardens of the suburbs, where the construction of abbatis and parapets was continued.

The detached corps of cavalry, infantry, and soldiers of the train, encamped upon the right bank, appeared only to have awaited the signal of engagement, in order to inflict on the unfortunate inhabitants, the utmost evils of war. Uncertain if, on the following day, the remaining possessions

of the unfortunate country would be in their power, they abandoned themselves to an unrestrained system of plunder, and spoiled it of every thing that they had hitherto respected, from the consideration that it might probably be useful to them. Several of the unhappy sufferers abandoned their fields and houses to the mercy of the plunderers, and retired into the city, where they appeared in the squares, seated upon the miserable wreck of their goods. Thus passed the eve of the bloody engagements that were pending. On the eastward of the great garden, the combustion of the village of Streissen illuminated the heavens, eclipsed the splendour of the bivouac fires, and appeared to foretel to the inhabitants of Dresden the fate which awaited their homes.

The tumult of arms, and the rattling of waggon, deprived even those of sleep who had sufficient courage to remain undisturbed. At sun-rise, the soldiers were seen lying in all the different streets, all the avenues leading to the gates were furnished with artillery; every where appeared weeping women and children, who had quitted their houses in the suburbs. At break of day, the French had been driven out by the Prussians from the

great garden, which forms a square, about 6,600 feet in length, and 3,000 in breadth, where the tirailleurs found a commodious shelter behind the tufted trees. The troops, under command of General St. Cyr, had taken up their ground behind the works. The hostile army was advancing towards the city on all sides; it was not, however, completely assembled before Dresden till the 26th; including the corps under the command of Count Klenau, it amounted to 120,000 men. The Allies took up an advantageous position, and confidently assured the inhabitants of the neighbourhood that their success could not be doubtful. The Emperor Alexander established his head-quarters at Rœthnitz, and the King of Prussia at Lockwitz. At break of day the artillery of the Allies battered the fortifications of the city, and the fire of musketry becoming brisker, announced that the danger was approaching. One effort, well supported, seemed sufficient for capturing, by assault, a city defended by defeated troops, and which had been enclosed in a semi-circle on all sides, except on that of Frederickstadt, which remained open, because the left wing of the Allies was not sufficiently advanced.

As early as the two preceding days, public rumour had announced the arrival of Napoleon; he had, it was said, abandoned the Bober with the chosen body of his troops, and was marching towards Saxony, to drive the Allies from the Elbe. At nine in the morning he entered the city, followed by a part of his guard, and from that moment a continued march of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was seen on the shores of the Elbe, coming from the direction of Bautzen. This retrograde movement of the French was the result of the wise plans that the Allies were beginning to put in execution; for Napoleon, in order to overcome the difficulties which three powerful armies at once opposed to him, namely, that of the Crown Prince of Sweden in the north of Germany, of Blucher in Silesia, and of the Allies in Bohemia, appeared, according to his favourite system, to wish to fall with superior force upon a single corps of his enemy. With this intention he had executed a movement on the frontiers of Bohemia, by way of Rombourg and Gabel, with the *corps d'armée*, under Prince Poniatowski. In the mean time, being informed that the Bohemian frontier was already passed by the Allies, he suddenly

threw himself into Silesia and Lusatia, and rushed upon Blücher. But, conformably with the plan of the campaign, in which the genius of Moreau was displayed, Blücher avoided the attack, and drew his adversary into his rear, at the moment when the Crown Prince of Sweden might be able to direct his forces upon Lusatia, and the army of Bohemia might advance upon the Elbe, to rescue him from an unequal contest. When Napoleon had perceived this plan of the Allies, he abandoned the pursuit of Blücher, who was retiring before him ; he opposed but one single corps to him, under Marshal Macdonald, and returned in person to the Elbe with the rest of his forces. The exhaustion of his soldiers attested the rapidity with which these movements had been executed ; every instant *aides-de-camp* were hastening along the Bautzen road, in order to accelerate the march of the troops ; between noon and seven in the evening, 60,000 men crossed over the Elbe. The infantry came up at the *pas de charge* to the black gate ; the moment of delay, occasioned by the narrowness of the passage, was devoted to the re-establishment of order in the advancing columns. These infant soldiers, for so the French

themselves called them, endured, without allay, a parching thirst; vainly did they long for some refreshment; they were made to traverse the city at the *pas de charge*, and march immediately upon the enemy. The fine regiments of Latour Maubourg's cavalry, of which the Saxon cuirassiers formed the *élite*, passed over the bridge with a stately air, their eyes directed towards the spot where, on the following day, they were to perform a decisive part. "How strong are the Allies?" said the French officers to the inhabitants, who awaited with apprehension the fate which they might experience from the issue of the battle. Having heard the conjectures of the citizens on this head, they confidently replied, "Oh, we are stronger." Others, still more boasting, expatiated on victories gained upon the Bober, and on the defeat of the Prussians, in order at once to encourage themselves and the citizens.

Napoleon, soon after his arrival, appeared with his suite on the square between the castle and the bridge. A detachment of *gendarmes* formed a circle, in the midst of which he was seen undaunted, upon his white horse. The moment when the Allies might have successfully attempted

to assault the city was already passed ; and, as the cannonade, which had been kept up uninterruptedly from the morning, began to slacken towards noon, it was believed that no serious attack would take place. After the lapse of an hour, Napoleon issued from the Pirna gate, and repaired to the outer gates of the suburb, to observe the position of the Allies ; then he made his disposition for the battle, conformably with a plan that he had traced, as was said, the preceding night, and founded on the reports of Marshal St. Cyr. It is affirmed that, after having seen the position of the enemy, he exclaimed, with surprise, “ These dispositions are not made by a German, but by a Frenchman ! ” He soon after returned ; he appeared gloomy and absorbed in reflection. Several of his waggons, which had remained in the new town, in front of a house that had been selected for him, crossed the Elbe. The King of Saxony, for whom another had been prepared in the new town, remained at the palace, where Napoleon had also alighted.

About four o'clock, at the time when the whole of the guard, and a numerous cavalry, had crossed the Elbe, the Allies approached Dresden

in six columns. Forty pieces of artillery, planted in the great garden, fired upon the French fortifications, and on the whole semicircle between the tile manufactory and Frederickstadt. The Allies also kept up a terrible fire upon the works. The line constructed by the French, as I have already observed, extended to the north-east, from the bank of the Elbe to the high road to Freyberg, and to the river Weiseritz, advancing several hundred paces into the plain. Between these two extreme points five considerable forts were erected, with smaller redoubts, reciprocally covering each other; the first was upon the bank of the Elbe, eastward of the city, before the tile manufactory; the second to the south of the city, but at a considerable distance from the first, before the gate of the suburb of Pirna, not far from the great garden, and on the Pirna road; the third, to the right of the road which leads to Dohna, not far from the garden planted with tufted trees, formerly called Moczinski; the fourth, before the Falconry, on the left of the high road which leads to the valley of Plauen; lastly, the fifth, before the barrier of Freyberg, to the left of the high road\*.

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\* The new plan of Dresden and its environs, taken by J. G.



The suburbs of the old town were surrounded by strong palisades, and the bridge over the Weisritz, that unites it with Frederickstadt, was defended by artillery. The gardens in the suburbs were lined with light infantry, several pleasure houses at their extremities, not excepting that of Prince Anthony, in the suburb of Pirna, were furnished with loop-holes, and all the intervals of the surrounding walls were enclosed by palisades. Soldiers bivouacked in the interior ramparts of the old town. The windows of several houses, situated near the gates, were furnished with tirailleurs; before the inner gates and avenues

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Lehmann, will facilitate the reader's comprehension of the operations; it includes a greater part of the neighbourhood than any other; it extends as far as the wood of Dresden, on the north-east; on the east, as far as Striessen and Zschoernitz; to the west, as far as Priessnitz; and on the south, to Plauen; consequently, it comprehends the principal points of the field of battle, and even shews the fortifications erected in 1813. This plan is sold with or without the work entitled, *Dresden und seine Schicksale im Jahr, 1813, vom Mai bis November*; that is to say, *Description of Dresden, and History of the Events which occurred there from the month of May to November, 1813*, by C. A. Weinhold. In order to acquire a still more exact idea of the ground, one may consult *Topographische reise charte durch die umliegende gegend von Dresden*, A Topographical Itinerary of the Environs of Dresden, which was also published there; and the well-known map of Blakenberg.

leading to the gates of the suburbs, *gendarmes* were posted, who carefully examined the soldiers who returned into the city; cannon had also been placed in the same situation, doubtless more for the purpose of driving back the fugitive French, or dispersing assemblies of the populace, than for preventing the approach of an enemy\*. While the pieces placed on the bank of the

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\* The following is the secret order issued by General Drouot to the officers of artillery, who commanded the cannon planted near the gates of the suburbs, and served by the artillerymen of the guard: "In case the troops belonging to the infantry or cavalry, no matter of what corps or division, should be base enough to quit their ranks, in order to retire towards the suburbs, the officers of the *gendarmerie*, in charge of the barriers, are commanded immediately to send them back, making known to them that they will be fired upon, if they do not retrace their steps; if, notwithstanding, the fugitives should advance towards the barriers, the officers of artillery commanding the guns which are planted there, shall consider themselves as bound to fire upon such persons, and not to suffer them to enter the city, to disseminate disturbance and alarm. At the same time, such inhabitants as may be found in the streets, must be sent back to their houses, and must not be suffered to form assemblies. If they should shew any disinclination to obey the order, and should oppose the *gendarmes*, they shall also be fired upon; at the same time, not suffering them to approach too near the guns."

On this note M. Aubert de Vitry observes: "The author not citing his authority, the orders which he attributes to General Drouot, possess no historical authenticity." It surely cannot equally be said that they possess no historical probability.

Ed.

river, near the high road to Bautzen, supported the fire of the fortifications in front of the suburb of Pirna, which the Russians and Prussians were attacking with fury, Napoleon caused several columns of the young guard to debouch from the quarter of the tile manufactory, or the outer gate, on the eastern side, in order to dislodge the Russians from their position near the village of Blasewitz. There whole ranks of French, attacking with fury, were overthrown, and the young guard succeeded only by the most unparalleled efforts in obtaining any advantage, and repulsing the enemy to the rear of the wood of Blasewitz \*. Other intrenchments, as far as the

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\* One of my friends, who had an opportunity of observing what was passing upon this point, communicated to me the following circumstances: during the battle of the 26th, at the moment when the left wing of the French was debouching from the quarter of the tile-manufactory, and all the adjacent streets were choked up with soldiers, cannon, and ammunition waggons, these crowded masses were in danger of sustaining considerable loss by the following accident: A Russian battery was firing upon some French howitzers, placed upon a height near the fortifications, in front of the tile-manufactory, which kept up a murderous fire on the mass of Russian cavalry. A Russian missile set fire to a French ammunition waggon, drawn by four horses, and laden with howitzer shells, which, exploding one after the other, killed, in the first instance, two of the horses; the other two, turning about, set off full gallop towards the city, with the

suburb of Freyberg, especially near the high roads of Racknitz and Plauen, were attacked with the same fury. Fresh troops were incessantly debouching through the gates in order to defend the

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burning ammunition waggon. The battalions that were debouching drew back at this sight, and the greatest disorder ensued at the gate. Some more shells chanced to burst at that moment, and killed a third horse, detaching at the same time the three dead horses from the blazing carriage. The remaining horse, still drawing along the waggon, was fired upon from the gate; he turned about, and stopped near the meadow of the Elbe, unable farther to proceed. A few moments after the waggon blew up, throwing its contents as far as the *Beer-bastion*, in the new town. The unfortunate animal, dreadfully mangled, remained still standing before the burning remains of the waggon, and did not die till the evening. The moment when the principal outlet of the street was likely to have been blocked up by this ammunition waggon, was rendered still more important, because the enemy threatened to turn the French left wing upon the height behind the *Stuckgiesser* garden. The French column which defended that height formed precisely the extreme left; between it and the Elbe was a considerable interval, into which the Russian tirailleurs had already begun to penetrate, and the Russian cavalry had made a movement to advance towards it. The gate of the tile-manufactory remained blocked up for some moments; but some superior officers having repaired thither, order was restored, and they made fresh masses advance against the enemy; the Polish lancers charged the Russian tirailleurs, and the French were enabled to reassume an offensive attitude upon that point. Some French tirailleurs formed a new line as far as the Elbe; the Russian lines, enfiladed by the artillery on the right bank, withdrew, and the Allies lost the advantageous position in front of Blasewitz.

positions that were menaced. The French were briskly pushed on several points, while, upon the Plauen and Freyberg roads, the Austrians vigorously resisted the troops which were advancing upon Lœbtau, the Prussians fought with admirable bravery in the great garden, from which the French could not succeed in dislodging them. Some companies of the young guard were repulsed as far as the neighbourhood of the garden of Prince Anthony, but they returned to the contest, when they found themselves saluted by the balls of their companions \*. Numerous shells were crossing each other in their passage over the unfortunate city of Dresden, and set some houses of the suburbs on fire ; even in the old town many of the roofs were damaged, especially in the *Seegasse* and the *Kreutzgasse*. The danger was every moment becoming more imminent ; the inhabitants, in mournful silence, awaited the most fatal occurrences. Trouble and confusion every where prevailed ; anxiety was depicted on all countenances.

In proportion as the balls fell in greater number

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\* The author will persuade no person to believe, that it was necessary to fire upon the soldiers of the guard to make them return to the fight.—FRENCH ED.

in the city, the streets became more and more deserted. The inhabitants shut the doors of their houses, and several retired into cellars; some, however, who could not retreat quickly enough from the streets, were killed or wounded. The whole town was a camp; the soldiers, ready to advance at the first signal, were lodged in the public squares; the carriages and horses pressed on tumultuously in the streets; the gates of the suburbs were only opened to give egress to the troops who were about to engage, or to admit the wounded. About six o'clock, a report was spread that the Allies were advancing in force, and that the Prussians had already penetrated into the suburb of Pirna. The roaring of the cannon was redoubled; some divisions of the guard, that had remained in reserve with sixteen pieces of cannon, in the square called the Altemarkt, issued from the city at the *pas de charge*, and restored the balance of the contest. Napoleon, in the midst of a shower of balls and bullets, had passed, at a full gallop, into the *Schlossgasse* (the Castle-street,) in order to arrive at the gate of the lake, and the barrier of Dippoldiswalde. After having stopped there an instant, he had hastened to the field of

battle ; an officer of his suite was killed by his side, and several of his *aides-de-camp* were wounded. The advanced works before the barrier of Freyberg, the fire of which had been silenced by the Austrian artillery, had been already abandoned by the French. The still more considerable works near the Mockzinski garden, had been carried at nightfall by a Hungarian regiment, after an obstinate contest, which cost the Austrians many men. The French made new efforts ; towards six o'clock they commenced a vigorous attack on the last-mentioned works, and, supported by the fire of the soldiers belonging to the imperial guard, who were posted in the garden, they recaptured them. The favourable moment for taking a city by assault, defended by very strong works, and by an army that had already increased to at least 100,000 men, had long since passed ; the Allies, therefore, withdrew in the night to the heights whence they had descended at the moment of the attack, and the French remained masters of their fortifications. Some columns of prisoners, composed for the greater part of Gallician Poles, were the fruit of that day's engagement. About nine at night the cannonade ceased on every point.

The flames of some houses, situated before the Falcon barrier, where several howitzer shells had fallen, illumined that night of alarm. If an assault were no longer apprehended, every thing indicated that the two armies were about to renew the battle on the following day. The French troops bivouacked before the barriers and in the suburbs. On several points the Allies were scarcely a musket-shot distant from them. Near the village of Strehla, behind the great garden, both Austrian and French sutlers had taken up their ground, mingled together without distinction, like good friends; the officers and soldiers of the two armies came to buy brandy of them indiscriminately; and, while they refreshed themselves, conversed together concerning the events of the day.

Towards midnight a small rain came on, which soon increased so much that the water fell in unceasing torrents; troops and trains of artillery were passing over the bridge. Many of the conscripts took advantage of the profound darkness of the night to escape, by concealing themselves in the neighbourhood, from the dangers which awaited them on the following day. This circumstance will explain the reason, that a regiment of



the young guard, 3,000 strong, and which had suffered but little from the enemy's fire, returned to the field of battle the next morning with 900 only.

The sun was risen ; the divisions of Marmont and Victor ranged themselves in order of battle. The French, covered by their works, and protected by a numerous artillery, possessed great advantages for an attack ; their way of communication was not intercepted ; if they gained advantages, they were able to pursue them ; if they were beaten, they might retire in perfect safety, without the Allies presuming to follow them within reach of the cannon of Dresden\*. About six o'clock, Napoleon went out of the Wilsdruf gate, nearly at the same time the Allies received the French, who were advancing towards them, by a cannonade. The attacks of the French began about eight o'clock ; the first was directed against the centre of the Allies, placed upon the heights of Zschernitz and Racknitz, which extended itself from Leubnitz, to the eastern border of the valley of Plauen. The Allies vigorously defended their position, and the Austrian artillery made great

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\* See General Stewart's Report. Appendix, No. XXVII.

havoc in the ranks of the French. While Napoleon remained undisturbed between the Falcon barrier and the road to Dippoldiswalde, with an army of reserve amounting at least to 36,000 men, the attack was constantly supported by the infantry, which was advancing nearer and nearer towards the enemy, but without effect. After two hours' fighting, the enemy was no longer annoyed in that quarter of his position, but by a feeble cannonade; the efforts of the French were directed against the right wing, composed of Russians and Prussians, which extended from Leubnitz, by Streissen and Blasewitz. But these attacks appeared only intended to facilitate the operations against the left wing, stretching from Todschen, along the western side, in the hollow of Plauen, as far as Gorbitz, upon the Freyberg road. This division, composed for the greater part of Gallician and Hungarian conscripts, badly equipped, and little experienced, was also exposed by a defect of its position, for the deep valley of Weiseritz, behind Plauen, completely detached it from the centre and the right wing. Napoleon took advantage of this tactical fault; besides, the left wing was not strong enough, efficiently to cover the Zschone-

grund, nor the defiles of Priessnitz and Leutewitz, which open at one of their extremities upon the banks of the Elbe, and at the other on the high-road of Freyberg. As these important points were hardly even observed, the King of Naples found no difficulty in completely turning the left wing of the enemy, with a division of infantry and cavalry, under the command of Marshal Victor, and the brave Latour-Maubourg. Towards the evening, Joachim, who had prepared his operation the day before by occupying the defile of Cotta, debouched by the Zschonegrund, at no great distance from the village of Pennerig. This movement was decisive; the enemy made a vigorous resistance on the eminences bordering upon the valley of Weiseritz; but the rain which fell in torrents rendered defence very difficult, it prevented the soldier from firing, and left him the use of his bayonet alone. The left wing was completely routed, both by the French cavalry, which charged with fury, and the horse artillery, which fired from the heights near Naussnitz and Rossthal.

General Vandamme, since the 25th, had crossed the Elbe near Koenigstein; the Allies, understanding that he was advancing upon Pirna, and that he

threatened their communications with Bohemia, had already determined to retreat, when the movement of the King of Naples occasioned the rout of their left wing. The Austrians, repulsed from the Dippoldiswalde road, by which they might have retreated, surrounded by cavalry, taken in the rear near Gorbitz, surrendered, to the amount of more than 10,000 men, with their general, Metzko ; a small number of them made their escape through the hollow ways that lead into the valley of Weiseritz ; a considerable portion even of those who had dispersed themselves were also taken upon the field.

The death of Moreau \*, doubtless, produced a

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\* Moreau died at six in the morning of the 3d of September ; an account from Tœplitz, written the day subsequent to his death, states, that " he was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery, to which two French batteries were answering, one in front and the other in flank. Lord Cathcart and Sir Robert Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh, carried off his leg, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He uttered a deep groan, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter, made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after merely

great influence on the unfortunate issue of this battle. This magnanimous hero, who had quitted his tranquil retreat beyond the Atlantic, to fight for the liberties of the old world, which his implacable antagonist trampled under his feet, was about noon on horseback, by the side of the Emperor Alexander, upon an eminence behind the village of Racknitz, whence he might follow the movements of the centre and the right wing; a

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binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the Emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of his other, he observed, without shewing any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that, had he known that before the first operation, he should have preferred dying. He had been soaked through and through. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with wet straw, and a cloak, drenched by the rain, which continued in torrents during the whole day. About seven in the evening of the amputation, he was placed in a litter formed of the body of a coach, and on the 28th, at four in the morning, was removed through Dippoldiswalde to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse. Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with a heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed; and, from his composure and calmness, appeared to those with whom he conversed to endure but little pain. See also the author's Note on Sir Charles Stewart's despatches. Appendix, No. XXVII.—  
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ball, probably fired from a field battery, placed on the edge of the hollow way, behind the little chateau of Placentia, passed through the belly of his horse, and crushed both his legs. He was at first removed to shelter in the house of a neighbouring peasant, afterwards conveyed on a litter to Noethnitz, two leagues and a half from Dresden ; there he underwent the amputation of his limbs ; he was then conveyed to Laun, in Bohemia, where, at the end of five days, he died, according to the expression of the Emperor Alexander, “ as he had lived, with all the self-possession of a firm and great spirit.” Every precaution had been taken to conceal from the French army that a general so much revered by them was in the neighbourhood ; even the mention of it was forbidden under the most severe penalties ; an equal anxiety was now shewn to publish the gratifying news of his death.

At five in the evening, Napoleon, drenched with rain, passed on horseback, on his return to the castle, through the street of Wilsdruf, accompanied by some Austrian generals taken prisoners, and followed by a detachment of the young guard ; some regiments were obliged to halt, in order to let the train pass on, and saluted him with their

joyful acclamations\*. Ten Austrian standards were borne in triumph across the city by the soldiers of the guard, as far as the hotel of Prince Anthony: they were publicly suspended in the grand porch, and sentinels were planted near them. This place was not selected with much regard to delicacy, as they were placed directly under the eyes of the Prince's consort, sister to the Emperor of Austria. The artillery taken in the battle followed, with the prisoners, forming several columns†. This was a miserable sight. Exhausted by a long and painful march across the district of Erzgebirg, where the roads had been rendered almost impracticable, these unfortunate beings, after having suffered the severest privations, exhausted by the most painful fatigue, had arrived upon the field of battle, where the destructive legions of the enemy had been encamped during several months. Many of them were grievously wounded, all clothed in tattered garments, devoured with hunger, which they said they had not been able to satisfy since their de-

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\* It is said that he answered them by exclaiming, "The Austrians are beaten!"

† See the Official Reports on the events of the 26th and 27th Appendix XXV. and XXVI.

parture from Bohemia. In want of bread, and having rarely been able to find a few potatoes, these unfortunate wretches fell greedily upon the refreshments that were furnished them by the compassion of the inhabitants of Dresden. All these prisoners, for the greater part Austrians, amounting nearly to 13,000 men, were shut up in the protestant church, and the *Wallegarten* of the Bruhl. Their number was still farther augmented the next day by dispersed soldiers, who voluntarily repaired to the city, and were conducted under escort. As the place that had been allotted for the prisoners was not yet ready, several of them sought for shelter, during the first night, in the porches of the houses, where charitable persons dressed their wounds, and alleviated their sufferings. The French authorities afforded scarcely any relief to these wretches, and if the inhabitants had not commiserated them, a still greater number would have perished in these prisons, where, from their neglected wounds and hunger, they uttered lamentable cries. The citizens carried into the churches quantities of bread and provisions of all kinds, but it was impossible to satisfy the wants of every one, and the crowd was so great about



the persons who made the distribution, that the sentinels had often enough to do to protect them. The peaceable citizens, little accustomed to these scenes of horror, shuddered when they saw, one morning, before a church, the carcasses of several of these unfortunate victims of want. On the following days, a new and pitiable spectacle was presented, when those who were most grievously wounded, several of whom were quite naked, were transported from the churches into the hospitals\*. The French treated their wounded enemies with still more cool indifference than their own. During the two latter days, about 10,000 French were wounded. The churches were defiled in various ways by being converted into prisons, and public worship could not, for some time, be celebrated in them. It was not till the 31st of August, that a part of the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian prisoners were transported from Dresden, by way of Meissen. Their external appearance bespoke their sufferings; when they were seen devouring with avidity pieces of raw horse-flesh, it became easy to give credit to public rumour respecting the bad treatment that they

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\* At that period there were twenty-four hospitals in the city.

had received. A great part of the Austrians, particularly the militia which had been recently enrolled in Poland, entered immediately into the French service; dressed in their new uniform, they were soon seen practising the French exercise, that they might be enabled, without delay, to join the ranks of their new comrades. The streets of Dresden still continued to serve for bivouacs. Here stolen cattle were slaughtered, and under the linden-trees innumerable fires were lighted, near which repasts were prepared; there neglected wounded soldiers, or others on the point of perishing from fatigue, were seen reclining by the side of dead horses. In another quarter the peasants of the left bank took up their abode, with their half-naked children, the cattle they had been able to preserve, and the remains of their effects. Upon the bridge was a confused mass of soldiers, carriages, peasants, and cattle; altogether this was a more horrible spectacle than that of the field of battle itself, to which, however, cupidity or curiosity attracted a vast number of spectators as soon as the cannonade had ceased. Within the circuit of a league about the old town, the eye encountered nothing but scenes of horror.

Thousands of dead, belonging to the most warlike nations of Europe, strewed the plain where the battle had been sustained with obstinate fury ; many of these bodies were half naked, or completely stript ; several were lacerated with hideous wounds, crushed under the wheels of cannon and carriages ; the ditches and the miry pools were filled with men and horses. In no part were the dead in greater number than near the garden of Mockzinski, before the Falcon barrier, in the great garden, near the little chateau, and the mills, before the gate of Lœbtau. According to custom, the killed on the French side had been buried, especially in the quarter nearest to the city ; the heaps of earth newly thrown up, and the limbs protruding from the shallow graves, alone pointed out the ravages that death had made in their ranks. French soldiers and common prostitutes stole to the field of battle, and snatched from the bodies, yet reeking with blood, a piece of clothing, or searched for money and watches. Old and young, were strolling about to pick up bullets and arms, dispersed in frightful disorder upon the scene of action, in the midst of the wreck of carriages and ammunition-waggons that had

been blown up. All the neighbouring villages had suffered from fire or pillage ; every thing that had escaped the fury of the retreating army was plundered or laid waste by the French in the pursuit. Full sheaves of corn, that had been snatched from the barns, in order to form beds for the soldiers, or to feed their horses, were every where scattered about; on all sides appeared miserable peasants, mournfully standing by the smoking remains of their houses, or endeavouring to collect in the fields the dispersed relics of the produce of their labour, and uttering bitter sighs ; sometimes finding the doors of their cottages in a camp-hut, and their stolen household goods among the wood heaped up in the blazing fire of a bivouac.

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## CHAPTER IV.

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*Successes of the Crown Prince on the Frontiers of Brandenburg, and of Blücher in Silesia.—Defeat of Vandamme.—Outrages committed by the French soldiery.—Napoleon's march to the Defiles of Bohemia.—He retires.—The Allies approach Dresden.—Napoleon removes in a lateral direction to Leipsic.—Investment of Dresden.—Unsuccessful Sortie made by the Garrison, under Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr.—Distress of the Garrison and Inhabitants.—Capitulation concluded with Count Klenau.—The Prince of Schwartzemberg refuses to ratify it.—St. Cyr and the Garrison made Prisoners of War.*

THE joy for the victory obtained near Dresden, the advantages of which were exceedingly exaggerated by the French reports, was soon allayed; and the impossibility of ameliorating the actual situation of the military force of France, was too speedily perceived. Although the efforts of the Allies had not, at that period, been rewarded with decisive success, the clear-sighted observer already might remark a striking change in Napoleon's operations. This leader, accustomed as he was to domineer over the enterprises of his adversaries, to deploy against their efforts superior force, found himself, on this occasion, from the

opening of the campaign, encumbered and confined in his movements. The Allies, on the contrary, by placing their principal forces in Bohemia, possessed the advantage of commanding both banks of the Elbe, and of impeding their enemy in all his attempts to attack, which were rendered still more difficult by the movements of the armies of the Crown Prince of Sweden and Field-marshal Blucher, made for the purpose of preventing the junction of the French forces. In consequence of these circumstances, the success that Napoleon had just obtained near Dresden, produced no decisive result upon the general nature of the operations, and scarcely presented any obstacle to the original plan of the Allies. The effects of the grand victory that they had obtained upon the frontiers of the marquisate of Brandebourg and of Lusatia, began to be displayed at the moment when the setting star of Napoleon was gleaming its last lustre at Dresden. His military fortune had arrived at its boundary, and whatever care might be taken to prevent information concerning the true situation of his army from being spread, still the voice of fame, breaking through all the guards and barriers provided by an uneasy foresight of events, shewed,

every day more plainly, that a fatal destiny was attached to the projects of a chief hitherto accustomed to victory.

On the night subsequent to the battle, the divisions of the allied army had withdrawn towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the noise of the cannon, which constantly became more distant, proved that the engagement was continued with the French in the pursuit, which, however, was not vigorously sustained, for a report apprized the public, that, on the 28th of August, in the morning, a division of troops, with artillery, had appeared on the heights, for the purpose of covering the retreat of the Allies. Several French divisions pursued them towards the frontiers of Bohemia\*. The King of Naples followed them beyond Freyberg, towards the defiles issuing

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\* Through the mountains which enclose Bohemia on the northern side, six defiles open from east to west, dependant on the Saxon territory, and on the right bank of the Elbe: 1st, The road from Reichenberg to Friedland, which divides into two branches, one of which leads from Greifenberg into Silesia, and the other to Seifenberg, in Saxony. 2d, The Zittau road through Leipa and Gabel, upon the left bank of the Elbe. 3rd, The road to Giesshubel, through Peterswalde, the principal road between Prague and Dresden. 4th, That from Tœplitz to Zinnwalde. 5th, That from Commotau, through Passberg, to Aunaberg. 6th, That from the circle of Ellenbogen to Plauen, in Voigtland.



from Erzgebirg, Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr towards Giesshubel. Napoleon in person repaired the day after the engagement, about seven in the morning, towards the neighbourhood of Pirna; but in the evening was on his return to Dresden. The fresh victories which, according to the French reports, their troops had gained on that and the following day, over the retreating army of the Allies, were confined to some insignificant engagements with the enemy's rear-guard, in the plain of Dresden. But whilst the happy consequences expected from the junction of the armies which were marching forward, with the corps of Vandamme, on the frontiers of Bohemia, were spoken of; the news of a suspension of arms, concluded between the Austrians and French, was circulated at Dresden; rumour even spoke of an interview between the belligerent powers; and on the 29th of August preparations were made for putting the Marcolini palace at Frederickstadt in a state to receive Buonaparte.

But this report was scarcely diffused when public attention was called to another object, which had already been whispered by rumour. The first consequence of the defeat of Marshal

Oudinot, who attempted an incursion to Berlin, was the sending off Marshal Ney, who had hardly quitted the field of battle at Dresden, than he endeavoured to assemble the wreck of the army beaten on the 23d of August at Grossbeeren, in order to arrest the progress of the Crown Prince of Sweden. The danger was still more imminent on the side of the frontiers of Silesia, where Blücher had overcome, on the 26th of August, at the battle of the Katzbach, the divisions of Macdonald and Sebastiani.

The vexatious influence of these events on the operations of the French army had just become evident, when all Napoleon's projects of attack were annihilated, and his situation reduced to the defensive, by the complete defeat of Vandamme, on the 30th of August, near Culm, two miles from Toplitz, where on the day before 8,000 Russians, under General Ostermann, had opposed to him the most vigorous resistance.

These reverses already produced the most unhappy influence on the situation of the over-burthened capital; from that moment marches and counter-marches of the French armies began, which pressed more and more upon Dresden, as

their *point d'appui*, and daily increasing the devastation of the country, reduced the theatre of the eventful contest into narrower bounds.

On the 30th, in the afternoon, several divisions of the young guard returned from the frontiers of Bohemia, defiled on the right bank of the Elbe, and encamped in the plain behind Neudorf, not far distant from the entrenchments on the road to Grossenhain, where Napoleon on the same evening once more passed them in review. A part of these troops defiled farther on the road to Grossenhain, which was, during the whole day, the scene of this tumultuous movement. A train, consisting of more than fifty carriages, coming from Torgau, had an escort of 300 men, for the Russian cavalry already spread themselves on the lower bank of the Elbe. Some bands of French and German soldiers, the former coming by the same road, the latter by way of Königsbruck, and which formed a part of the wreck of the army beaten at Berlin, were dispersed. A long file of wheelbarrows, filled with wounded French, which arrived very late during the night, by way of Stolpen, augmented the embarrassment that had already become alarming, in the streets of Neustadt,

and upon the bridge. But the next morning the greater part of the troops, which, on the preceding evening, had passed over to the right bank of the river, hastily traversed the city, and took the Pirna road. This movement was occasioned by the loss that had been experienced in Bohemia, the news of which was circulated the same day at Dresden, and was confirmed by the fugitives. Some hundreds of Russian and Austrian prisoners were, it is true, brought into the city at the same moment ; but, by the report of these, as many thousands of French were escorted along the military roads of Bohemia. On the following day the dispersed wreck of that brilliant *corps d'armée*, arrived partly disarmed, which Vandamme, fourteen days before, had led through the city as on their march to certain victory. These troops re-established themselves in the camp that had been abandoned, situated in the wood on the right bank of the Elbe.

On the 2nd of September fresh corps returned to the same side of the river, among the number of which was the division under command of Mortier. Some divisions took the Berlin road, but the greater part went towards Bautzen, to support

their *point d'appui*, and daily increasing the devastation of the country, reduced the theatre of the eventful contest into narrower bounds.

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Marshal Macdonald, who was briskly pressed. In the afternoon the King of Naples returned from the district of Erzgebirg, where he had advanced beyond Marienberg, towards the frontiers of Bohemia; and very soon after the division of General Latour-Maubourg's cavalry, placed under his command, followed by that road which had been so often traversed; a detachment of Russian prisoners, escorted by Spanish soldiers, augmented the growing disturbance of the day.

It was said that Napoleon wished to restore, by a vigorous step, his affairs, deranged by the ill success of his generals; the march of the troops was continued on the following day, and Buonaparte himself set out in the evening, having first passed in review, in the court-yard of the palace, a regiment, rapidly formed and equipped, composed of Austrian Poles, who had been taken prisoners. The King of Naples accompanied him, and all the persons attached to the staff followed, having in their rear files of waggons, herds of oxen, and flocks of sheep. It was confidently affirmed, that the progress of the army would be marked by victory. During the short interval that the inhabitants were relieved from a part of

their guests, a dislodgment of the soldiers from their quarters took place, several of whom, in the sequel, finding themselves without shelter, begged during the day, attaching themselves to the sutlers, and at night slept in shops, in open stalls, or even upon the pavement.

Before Napoleon's departure the French had begun farther to fortify the vicinity of the old town. Three new redoubts had been raised, in order to strengthen the space weakly defended; between the works constructed on the road to Plauen, and the eastern redoubt, near the tile manufactory. A redoubt was thrown up at the barrier of Dippoldiswalde, which leads on the left to the military road of Racknitz, and till then had been only closed by palisades; the second was established upon the road before the barrier of Dohna, at a shorter distance from the great redoubt, near the Mocinski garden; and the third before the barrier of Rampsch, near the road to Pilsnitz. The country people and the soldiers of the division, encamped upon the right bank of the Elbe, zealously exerted themselves to complete these defences. At the same time fortifications were erected at Meissen, which were to form a new



out-work for the defence of Dresden. Upon the right bank, in front of the city, the most fertile vineyards, on the hills, had been devastated to make room for intrenchments, covering the bridge of boats. The old town of Albert, situated upon a hill, that rises 160 feet above the river, and whose pacific monuments have existed for ages, became a fortress. The halls in which porcelain was manufactured, were filled with warlike stores; the stone bridges, constructed with such boldness of design, the work of the illustrious Count Henry, in the thirteenth century, which unite the Schlossberg to the Afra-berg, together with the lower part of the town, were closed by palisades: the houses on that spot were burned.

Thus Dresden, with its environs, was converted into an intrenched camp, where the French army, closed in on all sides, appeared determined to brave, behind ramparts, which they considered impregnable, the superior forces of the Allies. But the brilliant hopes that the second expedition into Lusatia had inspired, were deceived, for Napoleon returned, on the 6th of September, towards the evening, and the army

which followed him re-entered the city during the night, and was followed the next morning by the guard, displaying six Austrian colours, which formed a part of the trophies of the battle of Dresden, and which they had carried ever since in all their expeditions, to keep up illusion by the appearance of fresh successes. They took up their quarters in the houses that they had quitted four days before, without waiting for a new distribution.

The army of Blucher, attacked, on the 5th, by Napoleon, at Reichenbach, had retired, after an unimportant affair of cavalry, upon the Neisse and the Queiss; a small portion of it only had been left on the right bank of the Neisse to watch the enemy's motions. Whilst this army was retiring before the Emperor of the French, that of Bohemia immediately passed the frontiers of Saxony, towards Peterswalde and Erzgebirg. Some divisions of Prince Poniatowski and Marshal St. Cyr, alone remained in that quarter, to repulse the attacks of the enemy, with all the troops that could be collected from the wreck of Vandamme's corps, then commanded by Count Lobau. These troops had to struggle with all

the difficulties of a rigorous season, and dreadful dearth; while the Allies, by means of the roads in their rear, were abundantly supplied with meat, and all kinds of provisions.

As early as the 5th of September, swarms of Cossacks had appeared near Dresden, Possendorf, and Kesselsdorf, at the same time parties of Russians and Prussians spread themselves upon the roads of Lusatia, in the rear of the grand French army, making small detachments prisoners, and seizing on all convoys. Napoleon made serious preparations against the army, advancing from Bohemia, which had forced Marshal St. Cyr, on the 7th, to retire upon Dresden. Numerous bodies of troops, coming from Bautzen and Königsbrücke, hastened to occupy the left bank of the Elbe. On the 8th, Napoleon, in person, went towards Dohna, whither the advanced guard of Count Wittgenstein had repulsed the French. The latter maintained themselves vigorously on that spot, when their reinforcements had arrived. The small town of Dohna was cannonaded, several houses took fire and the environs were horribly ravaged. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, were advanced till a

late hour of the night upon the military roads of Bohemia. The next day Napoleon broke up from Dohaa, where he had passed the night, proceeded towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and, on the 10th of September, the grand army debouched, on their advance, upon the roads of Nollendorf and Ebersdorf, whilst, at the same time, a division of 15,000 men, under Marshal St. Cyr, penetrated by the old road over Geyersberg. Napoleon remained with three divisions at Nollendorf, but after some insignificant engagements, he retired by the ordinary road. On the 12th he was on his return to Dresden. During the whole day he was followed by the old, and several divisions of the young, guard, which immediately passed over to the right bank of the Elbe, advancing upon the road to Königsbruck. These movements were the result of the bloody defeat that one of the bravest of the French generals had sustained, on the 6th of September, at Dennewitz, and the fresh progress of the Prussian general, who had already returned to Herrnhut.

From the road to Königsbruck, upon the heights of the wood of Dresden, as far as the village of

Pieschen, in the plain, and on the road to Meissen, numerous battalions were encamped, beneath huts, composed of planks, straw and leaves. All the villages were filled with the unruly and marauding soldiery, heaped, from the number of fifty to a hundred, in the smallest cabins. The barns and houses were pulled to pieces that were in the line of defence, or in the neighbourhood of places where fuel for the bivouacs, and planks for the huts, were wanted. Even household utensils were carried off, and became a prey to the flames; neither the cemetery of Neustadt, nor the sepulchres in the neighbourhood of the camp, were spared. The crosses on the graves were burned, the graves themselves were ransacked, the wooden coffins were thrown into the bivouac fires, the bodies were stripped of their shrouds, which, with the crowns of artificial flowers and of tinsel, that had been found in the tombs, were sold by the soldiers in the city\*. The remnant of the stores of winter became the prey of these famished warriors, who scoured

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\* The reader will be reminded, by this passage, of the ancient custom that prevailed in England, of decking the brow of the defunct with an artificial wreath. See *Hamlet*, Act V.—ED.

the country far and near, in order to collect potatoes and fruits, of which they retailed a part in Dresden. The holes in which the country people had buried several articles, were soon discovered, by the sagacity of the soldiers, whose researches, continued with avidity, deprived the poor inhabitants of the last wreck of their property. The irregular means employed to obtain forage were not less oppressive; and those for procuring all sorts of provisions, in general, were so disastrous, that, from the 31st of August, the French authorities shewed a disposition to correct them, by a regulation, which was not, however, made public until the middle of September, and which, on the whole, could produce but little effect, for the selfishness and bad example of the officers themselves made too much progress. The soldiers' rations had already, for some weeks, been diminished. Distributions of meat seldom took place, and the soldier was constrained to subsist on a pillage, which he could only practise in the country, and in the cottages of the peasantry. The warlike stores appeared to experience a similar diminution; and, indeed, for the purpose of preventing a deficiency of these or from an uneasy pre-

sentiment, the inhabitants were obliged, by severe orders issued in the middle of September, to deliver up all the powder and lead in their possession. The bad impression that so many defeats made upon the troops, the toils and difficulties with which they had to struggle, in marches that produced no decided results, and were prosecuted under the severest privations, provoked discontent, and a relaxation of discipline, that neither respect for their chief, nor his formidable preparations, could remove. On the 15th, an order of Napoleon had been published, to arrest all the stragglers, and shoot one in every ten, but the whole army now consisted only of stragglers and plunderers. It is affirmed, from the testimony of eye-witnesses, that a division of cavalry, encamped near Meissin, amused themselves by firing from the heights upon the peaceable travellers passing along the plain; they threw the bread which was distributed to them into the Elbe, and procured other provisions at the expense of the peasantry. One of them presumed to fire upon an officer, who wished to put a stop to these excesses. He was apprehended, and condemned to death by a court-martial; but the

general, either from erroneous views, or from a fear of producing greater irritation by severity, pardoned the offender.

The march of separate corps upon this very confined theatre of war was still continued. The movements upon the right bank towards Grossenhain, Königsbrücke, and Bautzen, had no other purpose than the observation of the enemy's measures, and the prevention of a surprise. Numerous bodies of wounded, stragglers, dismounted dragoons, and stray horses, covered the Bautzen road.

From the middle of September the Cossacks had spread themselves in all directions, and, on the 16th, before break of day, a band of 200 advanced as far as the intrenchments of the black gate; some of the waggon-train were encamped in the neighbourhood, who, at the sight of the Russians, fled. A covered carriage and some baggage waggons were pillaged. A general confusion ensued, the drums beat to arms in the streets of the new town, but the garrison had hardly time to repair to the intrenchments, when the Cossacks, taking to flight, disappeared behind the heights, covered with wood.

Since the 14th of September the French forces



had marched again towards the frontiers of Bohemia; even Napoleon himself proceeded the next day, with the guard, to Pirna. After some warm affairs of posts, on the 16th, the French debouched with impetuosity through the mountains upon various points. The Allies retired as far as Culm, where their forces awaited the attack of their enemy in the plain. The French were repulsed with considerable loss. The guard suffered most. Napoleon remained for some days at Pirna, whilst the news was spread at Dresden of his progress in Bohemia; but the sight of some light pieces, taken from the Russians, could hardly give consistency to this report. The considerable number of wounded, which arrived after the 18th, and, at length, the return of Napoleon, on the 21st, completely discovered how little success had attended this attempt. The whole country from Dresden to the frontiers of Bohemia had been laid waste, and pillaged in the expedition.

The preparations of defence, after this reverse, were carried on towards the point above-mentioned with still greater activity. For several months an hospital for lunatics had been esta-

blished at Sonnenstein, near Pirna. On the 14th of September it was suddenly cleared, and converted into a fortress. The director of the establishment obtained no other answer from the sovereign leader to his remonstrances, than "Out with the madmen." He, however, succeeded in preserving some provisions; but, in the short space of three hours, which was granted him for evacuating the building, he could not remove all that was necessary for the patients; and the major, who was charged with taking possession of the place, rendered, by the severity of the measures he adopted, this act of violence still more oppressive.

The position of the French army became more and more critical. Napoleon's communications with southern and Western Germany, as well as with France, were threatened by the movements of the enemy, who was concerting a decisive attack. Since the last expedition of the French into Bohemia, several divisions of the Allies had passed over at Leutemeritz to the right bank of the Elbe, in order to march towards Lusatia. The other corps had, from the beginning of September, occupied the roads of the district of Erzge-

birg, and the Austrians had taken Freyberg on the 17th.

Whilst these events spread perplexity and dismay in the rear of the French army, Napoleon ventured a last attempt to repulse the forces that were advancing against him with a menacing aspect. Immediately after his return from Pirna, on the 22d of September, he marched against Blucher, who had again advanced; a division of the Austrian army, under Count Bubna, had occupied Neustadt, near Stolpen, and was in communication with the army of Bohemia. The French had retired in rear of Bischofswerda and Stolpen. A detached division of the army of Silesia, which occupied a line from Camentz to Neustadt and Schandau, had been pushed to the neighbourhood of Dresden. The bridge between Koenigstein and Lilienstein had been partly destroyed by fire-vessels sent down the Elbe. Some French divisions advanced towards Bischofswerda; after some indecisive engagements, the Allies withdrew to Bautzen, and the French again occupied Neustadt, near Stolpen. Napoleon returned to Dresden on the 24th. His position appeared daily to become more perilous. He

seemed to wish to renounce new attacks, and to await the issue of the advance, indicated by the movements of his adversaries.

The army of Silesia was still approaching Dresden. Swarms of Cossacks scoured the country upon the right bank of the Elbe, and forced the peasants to sell them the provisions that were intended for the city. The supply of Dresden thus became more difficult. The resources which might have been drawn from Bohemia and the Elbe, were completely cut off from the capital; a dearth of the most necessary articles of subsistence was soon grievously felt; the provisions collected for the wants of the army diminished by degrees, and hunger compelled the soldier to despoil the cultivator of all his remaining store. The troops pretended that they were authorized to seize on every thing they might find in the country, provided they refrained from plundering the cellars. But in a short time no exception was made for the latter, and the provisions collected in those of Weinberg, on the right bank of the Elbe, were half consumed, half wasted, by the spoilers. A detachment very seldom passed over to the left bank of the Elbe

without bringing away some stolen cows, which they killed, or which the officers and soldiers indiscriminately sold. Even the herds of the King were not spared; long representations took place before his fine cattle were restored, and this only on condition that they should be given up, in case of necessity, for the support of the army\*. The horses were in the most wretched state, and the scarcity of forage continually increased; consequently, the loss became more serious, which

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\* The following circumstance is asserted, as a fact, in a publication, to which we have alluded in another place:—The King of Saxony, whose puppet part in the grand drama of 1813, has, ere this, been observed by the reader, chanced to be at a window of his palace, in Dresden, when a drove of fine cattle, destined for the French army, passed by; he was remarkably struck with the provident care of his ally for his troops, and expressed his approbation of it to his minister, who was at his elbow. “Surely,” said the latter, “your Majesty is well aware, that all these supplies are furnished at the expense of your unfortunate subjects, and that the French pay for nothing.”—“Impossible!” rejoined the King, indignantly, at the same time scarcely able to give credit to the assertion; but before the conversation on the subject had ended, intelligence was brought him, that his beautiful estate of Pilnitz, the finest in Saxony, had been despoiled of all its herds, and that they were actually those herds that had just passed under his window. Thus, for the first time, he became instructed of the terms on which the French army was supplied. These were, probably, the very cattle mentioned in the text.—  
EDITOR.

was sustained by the conflagration of a building in the lane of Ostra, where a considerable store of hay, straw, and oats, had been laid up. The fire broke out on the night of the 25th of September, and was occasioned, either by carelessness in the corps of drivers, or, as others pretended, by design.

The troops encamped near the city had, since the battle, rather from wanton mischief than cupidity, devastated the charming environs of Dresden. The chesnut-trees, of the finest growth, that bordered the road to Meissen; the ranges of tufted trees, which so beautifully adorned the way from the white to the black gate, were thrown into the fires of the bivouacs, or sold by the soldiers for fuel. The arable lands, the meadows, especially along the skirts of the wood of Dresden, were changed into a desert plain, where a blade of grass no longer grew, the very air was infected. In one place might be seen broken household furniture, near the wreck of a cottage; in another, a driver swearing, and vainly endeavouring to make his fallen beast rise from the ground, to which he appeared to cleave, as to the last bed of repose from his sufferings. There fa-

mished and death-devoted soldiers were seated by a miserable fire, roasting a few potatoes, or soaking some crusts, that they had obtained by begging; farther on, others were busied in flaying a horse, that had fallen dead, and were cutting the best pieces from his carcase for their nourishment.

Since the 25th of September a bustle had been observed in the army, which indicated fresh occurrences. A report was already spread of the removal of the head-quarters to Freyberg, or Leipsic, and from the 27th every thing was prepared for departure. The troops appeared to have quitted their camp, with the hope of being no more obliged to return to routes they had so often traversed; they carried off all that remained in a country so frequently pillaged. Every man belonging to the cavalry was seated on his horse, surrounded by full sheaves of corn; soldiers and suttlers carried with them cows, goats, and poultry of all kinds. They were laden with laths, sticks, and broken furniture, for supplying the fires of the bivouac. On the 15th of September, in the afternoon, the division of Prince Poniatowski arrived from the frontiers of Bohemia, so

much diminished, that the battalions of infantry did not muster more than 600 men; at the same time the King of Naples returned from the right bank of the Elbe. The march of the troops was continued the next day. On the 27th more than 30,000 men encamped in the city. The greater part of the army marched towards the Mulde, where the corps, collected together by Marshal Ney, were in motion, to oppose the Crown Prince of Sweden; some weak divisions only were left on the right bank of the Elbe, which could hardly extend themselves to the distance of two leagues from Dresden. Marshal Macdonald, whose *corps d'armée* occupied the Bautzen road, had approached nearer and nearer to the city, until the beginning of October, when he established his head-quarters in the garden of Cosel; the division of Marshal Marmont had been long encamped upon the right bank of the Elbe, in the neighbourhood of the city; but it had proceeded towards Meissen, by the road to Moritzburg, and was attacked, on the 27th of September, by the Allies. Marmont being briskly pursued, retired fighting, across the river, to Meissen. The precipitate march of his troops



resembled the disorder of a flight. The Allies, as they pursued him, brought their artillery upon the steep eminences on the right bank of the Elbe; the French planted their field-pieces upon the military road which leads along the left bank to Leipsic, not far from the village of Zehren, and upon the height which rises above the town. The cannon-balls and shells flew over the houses, however, without damaging them; but the town of Cœln, and the ferry-boats belonging to Meissen, were burnt. In the mean time Marmont's division filed on towards Leipsic, and other corps took the road to Nossen. The engagements were continued near Meissen, and on the 28th of September particularly, they were so obstinate, that the alarm spread as far as Dresden. The next day the Allies endeavoured to carry, by main force, the fortifications raised upon the ferry-boats, collected together for the defence of the bridge of boats; but they retired, on the 30th, after useless efforts, and the *tête-de-pont* remained in possession of the French, who maintained themselves on that spot, as well as on the right bank of the river, till the following month.

The victory which the Allies gained on the

frontiers of Bohemia and Lusatia; the appeal to the people, circulated by their generals, announcing an approaching deliverance; the state of the French army since the beginning of September; and all circumstances united, necessarily awakened fresh hopes in the hearts of a people groaning under oppression; and, above all, in those of the inhabitants of the country most burthened; it became, therefore, very natural that such feelings should extend to the camp of the Saxon warriors. The first who testified his sentiments was Major Bunau, who went over, with the division of infantry under his command, to the camp of the Crown Prince of Sweden. Every day the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine were quitting the French ranks, especially the Westphalians, who, often on the heights of the right bank of the Elbe, waited for the approach of the Cossacks, who skirmished in the plain; and, on their appearance, waving their *schakos*, threw down their arms, and fled towards their new protectors. Under these circumstances the King thought fit to make an appeal to the Saxon warriors, in order to recal them to a firm perseverance in the struggle; and, in a few days,

a proclamation appeared, to exhort the Saxon people not to suffer themselves to be misled by the appeal of the allied generals\*.

In the mean time, from day to day, the breaking up of the head-quarters from Dresden was announced, but the expectation was disappointed. In the beginning of October, the advanced posts of the Allies were on the right bank of the Elbe, upon the Meissen and Grossenhain road, about half a league from Dresden; the Cossacks were seen skirmishing farther onward, towards Moritzbourg, and even as far as Kœtschen-Broda and Hoflœsnitz. The corps of Marshal Macdonald, which consisted but of weak divisions of infantry, broke up about the same period, to take the Nossen road, and was followed in the same direction by the cavalry, under command of General Sebastiani. On the 4th of October, some infantry was again passed over to the left bank, at the same time the King of Naples quitted the city, in order to oppose the divisions of the Allies that were advancing on Chemnitz.

Whilst the right bank was drained more and more of troops, the preparations of defence upon

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\* Appendix, No. XXIX.

the roads, leading to the countries in the occupation of the Allies, were not discontinued. A *tête-de-pont* was established at Pilnitz, for the purpose of protecting the bridge of boats that had been there constructed. On the 1st of October, Napoleon wished to examine it in person, and passing, on this occasion, with his suite through the streets of Pirna, he fell from his horse\*.

The road to Bautzen was defended by palisades; the passage of the bridge over the small river at Priessnitz, was also closed by the same means. Several magazines of ammunition before the black gate were destroyed, and the inhabitants of the new buildings, which extended from that gate to the skirts of the wood, were desired to prepare to evacuate their dwellings.

At length, on the 6th of October, a bustle was observed among the troops in the city, which indicated a speedy departure. Several circumstances appeared to declare, that Napoleon's intention was to withdraw from a position, at once dangerous, and menaced on all sides. Disagreeable intelligence had already made him feel the

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\* The circumstance has been mentioned more particularly at the 202d page of the first volume. ED.

necessity of such a measure, but the surprising news of the rapid march of Blucher upon Königsbrück and Wartenbourg, might make him resolve to quit Dresden. Other threatening occurrences, at the same period, acted in support of this intention. For in what other light could be considered the position of the army of Bohemia, under the Prince of Schwartzemberg, who was advancing upon Chemnitz and Zwickau, towards Altenberg; the expedition of Czernitscheff against Cassel, and the report prevailing at Dresden, concerning the change of sentiments in the King of Bavaria?

The guards broke up from their camp on the night of the 6th, and the following morning, after six o'clock, Napoleon set out with his suite, passing through Wilsdruf, towards Meissen; half an hour after he was followed, on the same road, by the King of Saxony, the Queen, and the Princess Augusta. They passed through Oschatz and Eilenburg, on their way to Leipsic, which the King entered on the 14th of October. Princes Anthony and Maximilian, with their families, and the other branches of the royal house, remained at Dresden. The King intrusted the administration of affairs to his

minister of conferences, under whom were placed the head of the first department of the college of finances; the privy councillor, Manteuffel; the director of the territorial commission; the privy councillor, Schœnberg; and Ferber, president of the high consistory.

The force that Napoleon left at Dresden, for the defence of the banks of the Elbe, consisted of the 14th division, under Marshal St. Cyr; of the remnant of the 1st division, which, under command of Count Lobau, was still observing the passes from the frontiers of Bohemia, in the neighbourhood of Giesshubel and Pirna; and of a weak division of cavalry, in which were comprehended a regiment of Polish lancers, and one of Italian cavalry, much reduced. This army, the serviceable part of which appeared well equipped, was about 30,000 strong, inclusive of the numerous sick in the hospitals. Count Durosnel, governor of the city, and Count Dumas, the commissary-general, remained at Dresden, with a large number of commissaries. The greater part of the 14th division, consisting of 15,000 men, also returned, on the 7th of October, into the city, which the

marshal entered on the same day, being forced to retire by the allied army, that was advancing from Pirna. An opinion prevailed among the French, that they should shortly be obliged to evacuate Dresden; that the troops which remained behind were intended to cover the retreat, and favour the transportation of the most important provisions; but the measures that were taken for a vigorous defence, the completion of which was prosecuted with energy, did not countenance this rumour. The conjecture that obtained general credit was, that the issue of the battle, which appeared upon the point of being fought on the plains of Leipsic, or on the banks of the Saale, would alone decide, if, and how long, the position of Dresden might be maintained. Above the city, no place remained in the hands of the French, but the well fortified position of Sonnenstein. The Commandant of Koenigstein, the whole garrison of which was comprised of Saxons, had obtained permission from the Allies to remain neuter.

On the 8th of October, in the afternoon, the Allies attacked part of the out-works on the right bank of the Elbe; consisting of a large semi-

circle, furnished with eight redoubts, and forming an enclosure round the city on the Bautzen road, from Pieschen to the toll-house. The engagement lasted till night-fall; at the redoubt (No. 8.)\*, placed on the eastern extremity of this line, it was most violent. Count Bubna carried the entrance of the bridge at Pirna, at the same moment by assault.

The French passed the garrison of Lilienstein, over the bridge to the opposite side of the river, in order to convey the bridge of boats to Dresden, but the fire of the Austrian light infantry compelled the commandant to surrender.

On that and the preceding day, a great number of wounded had been sent down the river in covered boats. One boat sunk, and several of the unfortunate wretches found the termination of their sufferings in the waves. A number of sick, too weak to bear removal, were left, without scruple, upon the road. On this occasion, fresh proofs of that disgusting insensibility which had some days before been witnessed, were exhibited. One evening a French soldier, afflicted with dy-

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\* All these works are marked with great exactness in the grand plan, before mentioned, of the city and its vicinity.



sentery, was discovered near the road by his groans; he had almost buried himself in a dung-heap: the situation of this poor wretch was pointed out to one of his comrades, who replied, with indifference, " We have nothing to do with it!" The assistance of a *gendarme* was solicited, " I have no orders on that head!" he replied coldly. At length an officer exclaimed—" He is happy enough if he die!"

Upon the right bank of the Elbe, an interval of repose succeeded the action; in the mean time the intrenchments, defending the outlets of the city, were vigorously maintained, and a numerous division of infantry was posted upon the bridge of Priessnitz, defended by a fortified enclosure. But the report of an approaching evacuation of the intrenchments was again circulated, when preparations were made for spiking the artillery, the greater part of which belonged to the Saxons and Westphalians. In the mean time the Allies were advancing upon the left bank, towards Dohna, near the city. The division of General Bennigsen advanced, without meeting with any obstacle, and almost unobserved by the French, behind the heights of Rœcknitz and Plauen, be-

yond Nossen, upon Leipzig. The French encamped between Geisshubel and Dresden, having been dispersed, were repulsed towards the capital. On the 10th of October, a brisk cannonade took place in the neighbourhood of Sedlitz, and in the evening the French broke up from the plain, to retire upon Rœcknitz; but as, on the following day, the Russians directed an attack against Zschernitz, the French set fire to their huts of straw upon the heights of Rœcknitz; and, at the same time, the village of Gruma, behind the great garden, appeared enveloped in flames. A division, commanded by Generals Tolstoy, Ivanoff, and Markoff, about 16,000 strong, which Bennigsen had left in the rear, took up its quarters on the heights to the south of the city. On the 12th, the French were posted near them, in the village of Lœbtau, the great garden, the Mocinski garden, and the redoubts. A very brisk engagement was commenced in this semi-circle. On the 13th particularly, a smart action took place between the barriers of Dohna and Freyberg, although only a part of the Russians were engaged, who occupied the two camps near Dœltschen and Rœcknitz.

The neighbourhood of the city suffered no less from the devastation that took place during the fight, than from the continuation of defensive works in the gardens and the plain, where abatis had been formed, intrenchments raised, and ditches dug.

On the 15th of October the most remarkable action took place. Marshal St. Cyr quitted Dresden, and advanced, at the head of four divisions, to attack General Tolstoy, upon the heights of Rœcknitz and Zschernitz, who had but few troops of the line, but who numbered in his ranks, besides a strong division of the *landwehr*, a vast number of Cossacks, Baskirs, and Calmucks. Some intrenchments had been thrown up upon these heights. Count Lobau, about ten o'clock in the morning, issued out of the great garden, and debouched upon Breslau, towards Zschernitz. Shortly after General Claparede advanced from the Moczynski garden upon Rœcknitz; and, at the same time General Mouton-Duvernet left the suburb of Wilsdruf, to advance towards the heights of Plauen. Towards eleven o'clock the French were in possession of the villages upon which these *corps d'armée* were directed; but during the night

General Bonel, with his division, was detached beyond Gorbitz, across the hollow way of Plauen, towards the lake Gitter, in order to turn the left wing of the Russians. The Russian general made some fruitless efforts to maintain his position on the heights; and when, during the action, he perceived that the project of turning the Russian force had succeeded, he withdrew about noon through the defiles of Mokritz and Nœthnitz, where the engagement was very bloody, towards Dohna, under protection of his cavalry. Six field-pieces, that were abandoned in the hollow way, fell into the hands of the French, with about a hundred Russian prisoners, which were followed the next day, by two hundred others, and transported into the city, where they were lodged in the new market-place.

St. Cyr established his head-quarters at Nickern; but, on the 20th, the Russians returned to the charge in such superior numbers, that the marshal was forced to retire into the city. On the 22nd the French were driven back as far as Lockwitz; and, at the same time, the Austrian general, Chasteler, advanced at the head of 10,000 men, from Tœplitz, to the neighbourhood of

Sporwitz. But the superiority of the Allies became still more decisive, when Count Klenau, detached by Prince Schwartzberg immediately after the battle of Leipsic, marched towards Freyberg, to prosecute the siege of Dresden, in concert with General Tolstoy; the Cossacks also, upon the left bank of the Elbe, approached by way of Meissen; they had seized on that town on the 23rd of October, after 'a short resistance. The corps which took it was commanded by Colonel Busman, under the Russian general, Knorring\*, before Count Klenau had established his headquarters in the neighbourhood at Herzogswalde. On the 26th, the enemy advanced from Gorbitz and Pennerich; and, on the following day, from Dœltzen and Priessnitz. The French lost many men as prisoners in these engagements, but a greater number, especially the Westphalians, went over to the enemy. On the right bank the French were less confined, the Allies having, for the greater part, retired. From the middle of the month they had spread themselves over the roads to Bautzen and Radeberg; and, laterally,

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\* It is affirmed in the French report, that St. Cyr caused the castle of Meissen to be razed; the statement is not correct.

towards Meissen. They took advantage of this position to procure stores of forage. About the end of October, a division of the besieging army, commanded by the Austrian Lieutenant Field Marshal Widrunke, marched through the wood of Dresden, upon the heights of Weinsdorf, by the side of the Grossenhain road, in order to cut off the communication of the French with Torgau.

Towards the middle of October, the communications of Dresden with the neighbourhood were entirely cut off. The gates were shut from ten to seven in the evening, and opened at nine in the morning; a strict order forbade the inhabitants from venturing to the advanced posts, or traversing ground which had been the scene of action. On the right bank of the Elbe, before the retreat of the French division, the barns were emptied; and on the left, every thing within reach was plundered and carried off. All the villages were deserted, the habitations of the peasantry were roofless, without furniture, without doors, all had been used for litters, or consumed in the fires of the bivouac. The wreck of the houses became the prey of the soldiers; the pro-

duce of the autumn, cabbages and potatoes, were eaten nearly raw. The pillaging bands scoured the country, following the direction of the map, protected by artillery, and a numerous body of infantry and cavalry; they often were resisted by force, particularly on the right bank. Those who headed these detachments very well knew the places where something still remained for pillage; and when the best of the booty had been taken from the villages, they were abandoned to the soldiery, who completely ransacked them. It was well known that the French generals had amassed great store of forage, and that they daily despatched their marauders for the purpose of increasing it. The supply of the troops was a most oppressive burthen, and the dearth and privations made it, from day to day, still more severely felt. A proclamation of the French authorities, on the 10th of October, promised, indeed, to alleviate the pressure, by sending off the military commissaries, not authorized to remain at Dresden; but at the moment when this order was about to be put in force, the French commandant declared, that it might remain unexecuted, no road being open, and it being impossible

for those, who might be despatched, to join their divisions.

After the victory of the 17th, which, for some days, had left Marshal St. Cyr an open road upon one point, measures were taken to put the order before-mentioned in force. Never, at any time, had the burthen of military quarterings been regulated at Dresden on equitable principles, not liable to disputes ; but it was too severe to allow, in a time of exigency and trouble, any order to be maintained in that department. Indeed, at this critical period it was not an unusual thing to see the soldiers provide themselves with quarters by force, as happened on the night of the 11th and 12th of October, when the troops, coming up like a torrent, rushed to the barriers, knocked with fury at the doors in the suburbs, threatened to break the windows, and finally took possession of the houses. But a small number of the inhabitants could even think of supplying themselves with provisions. The traffic on the river was entirely annihilated ; boats freighted with merchandise were replaced by boats laden only with the wounded and the dying. The long previous stoppage of the outlet from Bohemia, reduced the inhabitants of the city



to subsist upon the produce of the neighbouring country that had been so often pillaged, the stores of meal had failed ever since the mills had been solely employed for the French military bake-house, and since the besiegers had cut off the resources of the valley of Weiseritz from the town. The want of salt farther increased the dearth; for some months it had been impossible to procure any from the salt mines by way of the Elbe. The French had seized on all the stores of salt to cure meat; the soldiers and the inhabitants were obliged to supply the deficiency with gunpowder, of which there was no scarcity. The commissaries belonging to the French constrained every person who came to buy rice of them, to take some of their powder, prepared with very bad saltpetre, which consequently possessed but a small degree of saline property.

Every shopkeeper having been obliged to deposit his store of rice in the magazines, none was to be procured elsewhere. On the approach of winter fuel also became more scarce; it had been wasted during the summer, and the stock which had been brought in the spring by means of the Elbe, from the forests of Lusatia, had remained at

the places of lading, for want of means to transport it, and security on the voyage. The floats of timber from the Weiseritz and the Kirnitsch had also failed. The mineral coal which was brought from the rich mines of Plauen, latterly arrived in inadequate quantities. The continual occupation of the valley of the Weiseritz by the Allies, impeded its extraction from the pits. The Cossacks scouring the vicinity of the city, cut off access to the neighbouring woods; they seized on some wood-cutters, and carried them off to the Russian head-quarters. The scarcity of fuel was so much felt, and so much uneasiness was entertained concerning its consequences, that a decree of the administration exempted, with a few exceptions, from all taxes for a certain period, every one who should bring fuel to the capital.

At the time of the most pressing dearth, on the 28th of October an order from the French general directed the inhabitants to provide themselves with provisions for two months; those who could not procure any were left at liberty, with a recommendation to quit the city. The execution of this order was the less to be depended upon, as its evident purpose was to impress a belief that a

resolution had been taken to defend the place to the last extremity. However, many inhabitants determined to quit their unfortunate city; but the besiegers, after having permitted their departure for one day, refused all passports and escorts. At the same time an order was issued for a declaration of all the provisions that could be found in the city; the inhabitants received notice that they must give an exact statement of all their stores of grain and meal, butchers' meat, smoked or salted, pulse of all sorts, wine, brandy, and beer. A French and Saxon commissary were intrusted with making the inquiry; however, they contented themselves with receiving the declaration of the inhabitants, without proceeding to effectual researches. The result of this inquiry amounted to very little, as was easily foreseen; but Count N—— pretended that large stores of grain and meal had been secreted, and put the threat in execution, of making domiciliary visits by French *gendarmes*; he is reported to have said that all the inhabitants should die of hunger, rather than a single French soldier should perish for want of necessaries.

The news of the victory gained by the Allies at

Leipsic, had, as early as the 22d of October, crept into the city, but it could by no means alleviate the apprehension entertained by the citizens of a miserable state of distress, as the French continued their preparations for the most vigorous resistance. It appeared, as was, indeed, declared by Count Klenau himself in his official reports, impossible to take the city without a regular siege ; and already, according to public report, heavy artillery had been brought up from Theresienstadt, in order to cannonade the capital. All the streets of the suburbs, in a large semi-circle, from the Elbe to Frederickstadt, were closed up with palisades, defended by abattis of trees, and transverse ramparts of earth. The approaches on several points to the gate of the suburb, and the outlets, were secured and defended in the same manner. On the 23d of October, the buildings at the farthest extremity of the old town, near the lake, Pirna and Wilsdruf gates, were cleared, and converted into crenelated block-houses, the windows being blocked up with sacks of sand. On the 29th, an order of Marshal St. Cyr appeared, directing all hogsheads, casks, chests, hampers, and baskets to be delivered up for the purpose of

barricading the entrances of the streets in the suburbs. All the guns, however unserviceable, were, on the 30th of October, removed from the arsenal, as had before been done at Torgau. The Saxon military were permitted to choose either to swear fidelity to Napoleon, or quit the town. This measure was adopted in consequence of the defection of the Saxon and other German troops. The Saxon soldiers at Dresden had been prepared for the proceeding, by the stoppage of their allowance of provisions and forage. They were at liberty to quit the city without molestation, if unarmed. Nevertheless, officers and soldiers were allowed to remain, on condition of wearing no military distinction, of giving up their rations, and living like private citizens ; their horses, arms, and accoutrements were to be delivered up to the Saxon and French officers, and deposited in the national magazines. The burgher-guard, however, retained their arms, for the uneasiness which the French general appeared to entertain with respect to them must have been removed, when he found, on inquiry, that this guard was merely an institution of police. The rest of the German soldiers who still formed a part of the French army, espe-

cially such Westphalians as were still in the service, and who were reduced to some hundreds of men, were disarmed and dismissed. For some time before, many bloody disputes had taken place between them and their companions in arms, concerning stolen cattle.

In the meantime, the contest was continued in the neighbourhood of the city ; and on the 29th of October, in the morning, the Russian artillery saluted the advanced posts of the French, stationed in the great garden ; at length the engagement was extended from Gruna to the plain of Cotta, not far from Priessnitz. The Allies retook the heights on the south-west of the city, above Plauen, Rœcknitz, and Strehla, where they posted long files of Austrian infantry. The French fell back to the outworks, and fortifications of the town. The country on the left bank was then completely laid waste ; the finest trees in the great garden were cut down ; the beautifully-planted avenue of Ostra was spoiled in the same manner ; the soldiers were selling, at a low price, in all quarters of the town, the trunks of trees, newly torn up, with the doors and joists of the destroyed houses of the peasantry ; the officers themselves

were not ashamed of this kind of traffic. Among other similar instances, a cart, filled with all sorts of furniture, was unladen in the new town, and sold by some French officers by public auction !

The defenders of the city were thenceforth enclosed within the circuit of the walls and the nearest outworks, which served as good ramparts against the superior force of the besiegers. The state of siege which now afflicted a place that had been so dreadfully harassed since the 26th of October, gave birth to fresh anxieties, to accumulated terrors. Some Frenchmen having been ill-treated on several occasions, a proclamation, bearing date the 1st of November, was issued, threatening with death any inhabitant who should presume to insult or offer injury to a French soldier. Too many occasions occurred to excite the oppressed inhabitants to discontent and violence, for it often happened that the French who had been besieging the bakers' shops in crowds, returned uttering imprecations for having waited several hours for a single loaf; or that French *gendarmes* placed in these shops from break of day, to prevent tumult in the assembled multitude, and to give the soldiers admission, would say,

with derision, that the military ought to have the preference, though the citizens were to perish.

The work on the fortifications was continued on the city without relaxation, and all the buildings in the neighbourhood which might, as was apprehended, afford cover for the Allies in an attack, were demolished. This destruction comprehended the greater part of the edifices in the fertile plain between Dresden and Plauen, on the right of the road; and several mills, among others the royal mill for polishing looking-glasses, which was demolished, with its fine machinery, on the 5th of November, together with the fulling, the malt-mills, a farm called *Die Sorge*, and, on the following day, the royal mill of Kunad.

These edifices were either pulled down or burned, without any useful purpose; the powder mill alone was lucky enough to escape the proscription. Several summer-seats and gardens, in the neighbourhood, shared the same fate. However, many of the latter, surrounded by hedges, were spared, when the owners had sufficient address to convince the French pioneers, by means of some pieces of silver, that these enclosures could neither impede or favour military operations.



On the 4th of November, the gates of the suburb of the old town were entirely closed, and the garrison was completely shut up in the area of the fortifications. The marshal could not fail of perceiving the perilous situation in which he was placed, when he was informed, by a spy, of the decisive defeat, and precipitate flight, of his master.

The courageous resolution was formed, in a council of war, to cut a passage through the besieging army, upon the right bank of the Elbe, towards Torgau. In order to procure a sufficient quantity of provisions for the expedition to be undertaken, across a devastated country, on the 5th of November, the inhabitants were commanded to deliver, into the grand magazine of the church of Our Lady, the third of those provisions of which they had previously made a return. An engagement was entered into, to reimburse the inhabitants at a regulated price, on condition of a sixth of the amount of the returns being deducted, in allowance for the consumption posterior to the period at which they were made. The dealers in provisions were to give up the half of their stock. A great portion of the

inhabitants were obliged to submit to these rigorous orders.

Notwithstanding rice and wine were rejected, which had been provided in some other way; also brandy, potatoes, vegetables, and generally every thing that was too heavy.

A bustle, which was observable in the garrison, on the 5th of November, betrayed the approaching execution of this dangerous expedition. The gates of the suburbs were occupied by strong detachments, numerous bodies of infantry also took up their ground in the streets of the new town. A supply of provisions, for several days, was taken by the troops. Count Lobau sold his store of forage, and the violent seizure of some horses indicated the expectation of success. On the 6th, at break of day, the *corps d'armée*, under the direction of Count Lobau, reinforced by two divisions of the 14th, advanced from the city, on the road to Grossenhain. This corps was at least 10,000 strong, to which about 1,000 cavalry were united, being all that could be mustered in Dresden. A train, consisting of more than 200 waggons, followed, laden with all that the French possessed; this baggage they parti-

cularly proposed to preserve, a most cumbrous obstacle to a retreat. The train halted at no great distance from the inn, called *The Wild Man*, while a part of the *corps d'armée* gained the heights by the road, and the rest by the way leading to Weinberg. The Allies were encamped upon the heights, of which they had possessed themselves towards the end of October. The French proceeded towards the lower end of the forest, in the direction of the road; but they were exceedingly annoyed by the *tirailleurs*, who observed them behind the walls of Weinberg. At break of day a brisk cannonade announced the attack to the inhabitants of the city. The resistance of the Allies, under command of Prince Wied-Runkel, was, at first, rather feeble, they were driven back by the French, who penetrated into the plain of Drachenberg, between the toll-house of the highway and Reichenberg; but the assailants were so vigorously received in that place, by the Austrian and Russian infantry, and the artillery that had just been transported thither, produced such a terrible impression, that, after a violent engagement, which cost the French 890 men, they resolved to retreat. The

deputies of the city had presented themselves, in the morning, to Marshal St. Cyr, who had dismissed them with consolatory assurances. "You see," said he, "I am setting out." At noon he repaired to the field of action, and returned about four o'clock, with Count Lobau and the other generals. The troops began to re-enter the city towards night, the soldiers so drenched with water, and harassed, that a great number of them were necessarily sent to the hospital. These famished bands had pillaged, for the last time, the neighbouring vineyards, and taken the opportunity of satiating themselves with fresh meat, cut from the thighs of the wounded horses. Some prisoners and field-pieces, that had already been exhibited at Dresden as trophies, were destined to give credit to the happy issue of an engagement, for which the French ascribed to themselves much honour.

During this sortie, an attack had been attempted on the out-works of the old town, and all the outer avenues of the streets were closed and barricadoed with all possible expedition. But every thing remained tranquil in that quarter, for the forlorn condition of the besieged appeared to

render any extraordinary efforts of the Allies useless. The unfortunate attempt that had been made to retreat was followed by fresh sufferings; Count ——— had solemnly promised the deputies of the corporation, that the sacrifice of a third of their provisions should be the last; but, almost at the same moment, the stores of corn and meal, the greater part of which belonged to the inhabitants and bakers, were removed into the mills of the city, even those belonging to the hospital, to eleemosynary and scholastic institutions, were seized, and long remonstrances were necessary to obtain from the French authorities the restitution of but the half of that which had been taken.

Want and misery, at this period, had arrived at the highest pitch; the mills stood still, for the besiegers had cut off the water. The supply of aqueducts from the conduits at Plauen was dried up; and the reservoir for extinguishing fires, which had been opened in the new market ever since the end of October, every moment excited the apprehension that the misfortunes of the city would, at length, be rendered more dreadful by a conflagration. The greater part of the bakers

had exhausted their stores, shut up their ovens, and tumultuous assemblies continually increased before the doors where bread was sold. Many poor persons went for whole days without it, and as the stores of meat also diminished, a great portion of the inhabitants were reduced to the most wretched expedients to support themselves. The market was empty, only a few baskets of vegetables, or fruit, were to be seen in it; about the purchase of which, the inhabitants and famished soldiers were contending; the greater part of the necessaries of life could hardly be procured at the highest price. The French troops suffered dreadfully from the scourge of famine. The commissaries abandoned them to their misery, and solely employed themselves in alleviating, as much as possible, the privation of their chiefs. From the beginning of November, about thirty horses had been killed daily, a great number of which were salted down, and instead of the usual ration, of an ounce and a half of butchers' meat, to which the soldier had been long reduced, he now received only double that allowance in horseflesh, most commonly so bad, that he rejected it although tormented by hunger. At length these miserable

creatures were reduced to carve their sustenance from the dead and putrescent bodies of horses, that were every where lying about the streets, and whose carcasses were seen frequently stripped to the ligaments. Some were busied in flaying a dead dog, whose flesh they were about to roast; others were collecting offal from the kennel, or picking potatoes or apple-parings from the dung-hill; and to finish, with one trait, however disgusting, this most horrible picture of misery, one of these unfortunate sufferers was seen greedily devouring the raw potatoes which the stomach of his comrade had rejected.

The public calamities were still farther augmented by the ravages which the nervous fever made among the inhabitants of the city. The deaths were averaged at 2 or 300 per week, of which a third were carried off by the pestilential scourge that sorrow and famine daily increased. Whole families had become its victims. In the corners of the bye streets, or on the numerous heaps of filth, frequently were seen dying soldiers, totally without relief, who preferred breathing their last sigh in the open air to expiring in the hospitals. Often catholic priests

would seek out these wretches, and, kneeling by their side, administer to them extreme unction. Two hundred bodies were daily carried out from the hospitals, where, if public report be true, they hesitated not to adopt mortal expedients. The naked corpses remained for hours ranged along the places of sepulture; the carts which conveyed them being perpetually in motion, and having no time to wait for their interment. The grave-diggers performed the burials by contract; they received eight groschen for each corpse, and in order to take as good a load as possible, they would often trample down the dead bodies in their carts, with pitiless and habitual insensibility. These heaps of dead were thrown into large pits. The French employed at the hospitals often exhibited the most barbarous indifference, sending persons to be buried in whom life yet remained; some even revived at the houses of the grave-diggers; and it happened, in other instances, that the bodies thrown into the Elbe finished their last struggles in its waters. The want of drugs in all the apothecaries shops, and the death of a great number of doctors and



surgeons carried this state of misery to its height \*.

At last, after the poor success of the sortie, the French authorities granted permission that deputies from the government of the city should be sent to the camp of Count Klenau, to implore his pity in favour of the unfortunate capital. The deputies, the president of the high consistory, de Ferber, the head of the circle of Zeschwitz, and burgomaster Beck, set out on the 7th of November. They were at first sent back at the outposts, and at the second trial they could not gain admission to the general-in-chief. However, they forwarded, on the following day, to the advanced posts of the besiegers, a petition they had signed, in which they implored that the city might be spared, and intimated that the French generals were disposed to negotiate. The zeal which these deputies exhibited on this occasion, demands the most lively gratitude, and history will not forget to record the indefatigable activity,

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\* Our Narrative may be compared with a curious account of a well-informed observer, entitled, *Horrors of the French Military Hospitals*, printed in the German papers, in 1814.

they employed in removing every difficulty, till the negotiation at length took a fortunate turn. The French colonels, Marion and Perin, at the same time, presented themselves at the advanced posts of the Allies, for the purpose of proposing, in the name of Marshal St. Cyr, the surrender of the city, upon condition of the garrison being freely allowed to retreat. This proposal was rejected. The Austrian general, however, took this opportunity of allowing the Saxon royal family to depart from a city reduced to such distress. Marshal St. Cyr made a fresh proposal, and thus, on the 9th of November, a preliminary convention was concluded for the surrender of the place. This convention was signed at the village of Gorbitz, upon the road to Freyberg, by Quarter-master-general Count Klenau and Colonel Rothkirch, on the one part, and Colonel Marion on the other. The active interference of the consort of Prince Anthony, the sister of the Emperor of Austria, did not a little contribute towards its conclusion. On the 10th, in the morning, Marshal St. Cyr and Count Durosnel went to the castle, for the purpose of announcing officially to the royal family this agreeable intelligence, which

was already circulated in the city, and filled all hearts with pleasing hopes. On the same day the principal conditions only were made public, for the French observed the most profound silence in this business, and several articles of the negotiation yet remained to be adjusted. This alarming silence still prevailed during the next day, and although the white flags flying at the advanced posts appeared to give the strongest hopes of pacific measures, the truth of the happy news was doubted, when the French pioneers were seen continuing their labours in the suburbs. However, about noon, the news of the convention for the surrender of the place was confirmed, and an official publication tranquillized the general anxiety. According to this convention, concluded on the 11th of November, in Count Klenau's camp at Herzogswalde, and confirmed by the Russian and Austrian generals in chief; the garrison had free permission to return into France. They were to evacuate the city in six divisions, from the 12th to the 17th of November, with their arms and baggage, laying down the former before the fortifications. It was, however, stipulated that neither the officers nor soldiers should serve again till they had all been ex-

changed for officers and soldiers of the Allies captured during the war ; conditions which Marshal St. Cyr engaged to fulfil, promising, at the same time, to procure the release of an equal number of prisoners belonging to the Allies, in exchange for the garrison, as speedily as possible. The whole of the artillery, the chests, the ammunition, all that belonged to the fortifications and the bridges, and all waggons, were to be surrendered the day after the signature of the convention. At the same time, half the fortifications, the gates of the suburbs upon either shore of the Elbe, two gates of the old town, and one of the new, were to be occupied by the Allies, but the fortress of Sonnenstein was to be evacuated six hours after the signature of the capitulation. Among the clauses afterwards added to the preliminary draught, and intended to soften the idea of the garrison being prisoners of war, the most remarkable is the permission that 600 men should preserve their arms, two field-pieces, with their ammunition waggons and horses, and that 50 *gendarmes* should retain their horses and their arms. In the afternoon of the 11th, the Saxon general Mellentin entered the city, with a

Russian and Austrian officer. The general was charged with the receipt of all the warlike stores, which the French were to deliver up before their departure, and was particularly to keep a watchful eye on the chest of bills, the chest of ready money, and all objects of art.

This supervision was the more necessary at the present juncture, as the French had already destroyed several warlike instruments in the arsenal. The report, however, still remains without proof that, by order of the Marshal, many military stores, even muskets and cannon, were either thrown into the Elbe, or rendered unserviceable. In the meantime the French soldiers endeavoured to secure to themselves some pecuniary profit, by selling, in the street near the ramparts, carriages, horses, all kinds of military stores, and even the planks of the camp bake-house, which was destroyed. To the very last moment considerable quantities of forage were carried off by main force in the city and suburbs. The garrison, as prisoners of war, were to be escorted, in rear of the allied army, to Strasburg, through Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden. On the 12th of November, about eight in the morning, several divisions

of French infantry, in number about 6,000, placed themselves between the Wilsdruf and Pirna gates, and at eleven o'clock took the road to Freyberg. Before the gates of the suburbs, upon the plain of the Weisseritz, some divisions of Austrian infantry with artillery, were posted on the right ; some divisions of Austrian hussars, Cossacks, and Russian militia, on the left ; two bands of Austrian and Russian music were alternately playing. About noon the French came out of the city, with their drums beating ; when they had arrived at the fortifications erected upon the military road, the humiliating word of command, *Ground arms !* was heard throughout their ranks. Each division obeyed.

The arms were piled, the cartouch-boxes, sabres, and swords placed apart ; the drums were also deposited. The disarmed troops took the military road. The greater part, particularly the young soldiers, were rejoiced to find themselves delivered from a wretched mode of life ; but accumulated rage was visible in the countenance of the officers. The veteran soldiers submitted with reluctance to hard necessity, and did not obey the severe order of their colonels until others had set

them the example. Several threw their cartouch-boxes into the air, exclaiming, "Napoleon is yet alive!" In the first division were the Polish husars and lancers, the whole of the cavalry belonging to the surrendered corps, and the two divisions of Polish infantry recently formed.

On the 13th of November, Count Lobau marched out with his division, and it was easy to read in his countenance what were his inward feelings when he lowered his sword to the allied Generals, and the troops grounded their arms. This division was followed by the host of military servants, (*goujats*,) those cruel persecutors of the country people, who, to the infinite joy of the assembled crowd of peasants, were obliged to deliver up their horses and sabres. Marshal St. Cyr quitted the town on the 15th of November, with the 4th division; at the head of the last, on the 17th, marched Count Durosnel, who, till then, had been governor of the city, carrying with him glorious testimonies of esteem, whilst Count ———, commissary of the army, left, on his departure, no honourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants. According to the official reports, the

whole of the captured army consisted of 1 marshal, 11 generals of division\*, 20 generals of brigade†, 452 officers, 6,500 non-commission officers and soldiers, of the 1st division, under Count de Lobau; 945 officers, and 17,129 non-commission officers and soldiers, of the 14th division, under Marshal St. Cyr; and 360 officers, with 4,078 soldiers of the old garrison of the town. Thus the whole amounted to 1,759 officers, and 27,714 soldiers. Of this number were 6,031 sick, who remained in the hospitals at Dresden, but still subject to all the conditions of the capitulation. The artillery delivered up to the Allies consisted of 26 howitzers, and 69 pieces of cannon, attached to the French divisions, and of 117 guns belonging to the place, the greater part of which was returned to Saxony. The value of all the warlike stores surrendered was estimated at more than five millions of crowns.

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\* Count Lobau, Durosnel, Dumas, Claparede, Bonnet, Mouton-Duvernay, Berthesme, Dumonceau, Razout, Gerard, Teste, Freyre, and Cassagne.

† Borelli, Schramm, Paroletti, Bertrand, Couture, Godard, Le Tellier, Goguel, d'Estlevin, Stedmann, Jaquet, Fezensac, Chartraud, Doucet, Gobrecht, Poskoski, Weissenhof, Baldus, O'Meara, and Bernard.



On the 12th of November, conformably to the clauses of the capitulation, a part of the town and the outworks were occupied by the Allies. An extraordinary contrast was then seen, French soldiers and Cossacks on sentry by the side of each other, at the same house. The indignation against the arrogant oppressors, which had been so long restrained, now frequently broke forth; among other instances, some French officers and soldiers bore, almost without resistance, the ill treatment of the crowd, collected in consequence of a conflagration, occasioned by some powder, to which the French had set fire.

However difficult the sufferings of the moment might be to support, the people began to respire more freely, and hope revived at the prospect of a brighter future period for the oppressed. From the very first days of the deliverance of the city, a greater degree of activity appeared in the streets, owing to the firm measures of the local administration, which, by degrees, removed all the nuisances that encumbered them. The Austrian and Russian suttlers brought from fertile Bohemia provisions of all kinds, especially bread; they filled the deserted markets with the neces-

saries of life. The cemeteries, long changed into tumultuous camps, were once more restored to peace, and the bodies that still lay piled in heaps, were buried. The sick French, who wandered about the streets like spectres, and the patients in the hospitals received greater attention; by adopting efficacious means, a check was put to the ravages of contagion.

The last division of the French had scarcely left the city, when the sounding peal of bells celebrated the entry of the Allies. First marched two regiments of Don Cossacks, next followed the Russian artillery, and lastly, the Austrian regiment de Zach, which Count Klenau, and other generals, caused to defile before the residence of the King's brothers, who appeared at the balcony with their family. The Russian infantry, the Hulans, the artillery, and Austrian cavalry, closed the march. The principal guard-house in the new town was occupied by the Russians; and, from the 17th of November, General Gourieff, as Russian Commandant, assumed the government of the city. The same day, a part of the troops advanced beyond the town, but the greater number remained; and the other divisions which

halted on the subsequent days, increased the burthen of supplies, which still weighed on the exhausted inhabitants. The Austrian troops were the first, who, after a certain period, retired. A strong Russian garrison remained until the following year; and, at the beginning of December, the Russian general administration for the kingdom, that had been organized, in October, at Leipsic, also established itself in the capital. The members of the royal family had set out, on the 19th of November, for Prague, with the exception of Princess Elizabeth, who, at the beginning of this new epocha, resolved still to remain in the midst of the inhabitants of Dresden.

Hardly had the surrender of the city been accomplished, when the alarming news was received from the head-quarters of the Allies, that the commander-in-chief, the Prince of Schwarzenberg, had refused to ratify the conditions acceded to by Count Klenau, and that he had given orders to the Feldzeugmister de Chasteler to put Marshal St. Cyr again in possession of the city of Dresden, and of all the means of defence which that general possessed before the evacuation; Generals Dumas and Durosnel, who had

already arrived in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, were obliged to return to Altenberg, where Marshal St. Cyr still was. His division was encamped between that town and Nossen, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants of the country, oppressed in every way. The marshal refused the offer, and, consequently, he was obliged to submit to the decision, which banished him, and his companions in captivity, to Moravia and Hungary.

Thus terminated the bitter trial of sufferings to which the unfortunate city of Dresden had been for eight months a prey. After all she had undergone, after so complete an exhaustion, the weight of her calamities was still experienced. But how cheering was the prospect of happier days, a prospect which sustained her in the last of her struggles. She saw the palm of peace springing up, and gathering strength on the soil of her country, her children about to repose under its shadow. He, who shall relate worthily and impartially the events of the new epocha to which we have arrived, will not forget to celebrate that devotion with which the inhabitants of a city long oppressed, and all the Saxon people, young and old,

offered the sacrifice of their estates, and of their lives, as soon as they had burst the chains, which they had borne with impatience, and flew to the field, in order to obtain for themselves and their posterity, the most precious of all human blessings—Liberty !

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## CHAPTER V\*.

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*Oppression of the City of Leipsic after the Battle of Lutzen.—Ravages of the French in the surrounding country.—Approach of the Allied Armies.—Arrival of the different French corps d'armée.—The King of Naples harassed on the 14th of October.—Napoleon takes up his quarters at the Village of Reudnitz.—Particulars concerning himself and his Military Household.—Battle of the 16th.—Pause on Sunday the 17th.—Battle renewed on the 18th.—Retreat of the French on the following morning.—Assault and capture of Leipsic.—The rear guard of the French cut off.—The Allied Sovereigns enter the City.—Napoleon retires upon the Rhine, defeats Marshal Wrede at Hanau.—Conclusion.*

THE favourable issue of the battle of Lutzen to the French in the early part of the campaign, and their subsequent, but evanescent, successes, had removed the seat of war from the neighbourhood of Leipsic; but her temporary exemption from scenes of blood, devastation, and misery, was purchased only by the most oppressive burthens of every description.

The city was converted into a grand depôt of

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\* In the compilation of the following Supplementary Chapter, the Editor begs to acknowledge the interesting materials he has found in the Pamphlet of Mr. Frederick Shoberl, and in other cotemporary tracts and documents.

stores for the supply of the army ; numerous bodies of troops, as at Dresden, were quartered upon the householders ; requisitions for meat, rice, meal, brandy, and all the necessaries of life, were continually grinding the poor reduced inhabitants, depriving them even of the means of supporting themselves and their families. " Thus, in the short space of six months," says an intelligent eye-witness of these misfortunes, " was the city reduced to so low an ebb, that even the opulent were in danger of perishing with hunger ; respectable citizens could no longer procure the coarsest fare, and, although their hearts overflowed with pity and compassion, they found themselves utterly incapable of affording the slightest relief ; nay, not so much as a crust of bread to a sick and wounded soldier."

In the city of Leipsic two granaries had been established, one by the King at the palace of Pleissenberg, the other by the magistrates, as a provision against public scarcity. The former was soon emptied, to victual the garrisons of Wittenberg and Torgau ; the contents of the latter, as soon as discovered by the French, were confiscated, sent to the bake-houses, made up into

loaves, and despatched in waggons to the distant armies. The inhabitants, deprived of their supply, were, in the mean time, left to support themselves, and the French soldiers quartered on them, as they could, as not a single loaf was issued to the military in Leipsic.

The surrounding country, contrasted with the districts that had been the actual scenes of the war, was still a smiling paradise. The scarcity of provisions and forage in Lusatia, and the circle of Misnia, was so great, that the French were absolutely reduced to the necessity of selecting the weakest of the famished men and horses from their regiments, and of sending them back to the dépôts. Many of the horses, incompetent to the march, perished on the road. They arrived in a worse state than the Rozinante of Cervantes' immortal hero, of whom he says, "*tenia mas quartos que un real, y mas tachas que el caballo de Gonela, qui tantum pellis et ossa fuit.*"—"His body presented more corners than the angular coin, a Spanish real; and he had more faults than Gonela's horse, who was but skin and bone." A part was sold by the soldiers themselves for a few groschen, a part was put up to auction by the



French commissaries ; their value may be estimated by the fact that a lot of 26 was bought for 20 thalers. A body of horse-guards, to the amount of 5,000, was sent back to Mayence ; their appearance as they passed through Leipsic, is thus described : " Scarcely could troops ever make so ludicrous, so grotesque, so miserable a figure ; gigantic grenadiers, with caps of a prodigious height, and heavy armed cuirassiers, were seen riding upon lean cows, which certainly did not cut many capers. It was wonderful that the animals shewed no disposition to decline the singular honour. Their knapsacks were fastened to the horns, so that you were puzzled to make out what kind of monstrous creature was approaching. Carabineers, with cuirasses and helmets, polished like mirrors, lay, without boots and stockings, in wheelbarrows, to which a peasant had harnessed himself, with his dog, and thus transported the heroes. Few of the horses were yet able to carry the knapsack, and much less the rider. The men were therefore obliged to drag the jaded beasts by the bridle through the deepest morasses, and thought themselves fortunate, when at last the animals dropped to rise no more."

To return to the state of the city ; the receipt at the great commercial mart, the fair held at Michaelmas, did not amount to a fiftieth part of its ordinary product. The stock of edibles in the hands of the tradesmen were put in requisition, most probably without remuneration, for the French, whatever might be their intention, were shortly incapacitated, by expulsion, from repayment. The inmates of the poor-houses were ejected, and the buildings converted into hospitals.

Such was the state of Leipsic, when a rumour became current that Napoleon was about to concentrate his forces in its neighbourhood. The storm, as has been seen in the third Chapter, was rolling its threatening clouds on every side of his military horizon at Dresden, and the bulwarks of that city could promise him no effectual protection against the bolts which were about to assail him. Although his evacuation of Dresden cannot be strictly called a retreat, his lateral march upon Leipsic was doubtless the result of cogent necessity. Vandamme had been cut off, defeated and taken prisoner, in his pursuit of the Austrian and Russian combined armies, after the battle of Dresden. Under the command of the Prince of

Schwartzenberg, these were now issuing from the defiles of Bohemia into Ergzeberg, and menaced the communications of Napoleon's rear.

Charles John, on his march from the north, towards Leipsic, had defeated, on the 6th of September, at Dennewitz, Ney's *corps d'armée*, consisting of 70,000 men, and composed of the divisions under Marshal the Duke of Reggio, Generals Bertrand and Regnier, with a body of Polish horse. Blucher had discomfited Marshal MacDonald, on the steep banks of the roaring Katsbach, capturing 18,000 prisoners, and 103 pieces of cannon. The failure of the assault on Dresden was more than compensated to the Allies by the above successes, and they now adopted a plan of simultaneous combination for the ruin of their enemy.

In the beginning of October, Marshal Marmont, with his *corps d'armée*, arrived in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, and the inhabitants were first inspired with the apprehension that a general engagement might take place under their walls. The devastating horrors of the French bivouacs were now commenced in the fertile environs of the Athens of Germany. The French army trans-

formed into a band of undisciplined marauders, searched every barn, cellar, loft, and stable, in the villages and towns through which they passed, for stores of all kinds ; the golden produce of the harvest was heaped up in the baggage waggons of the troops destined only as the receptacles of their plunder.

The peasant, often constrained by blows and violence, to give up the scanty provision for his family ; saw the windows, rafters, doors of his cottage, his household furniture, carried off to feed the bivouac fires ; his feather-bed, when it had served the soldiers' purpose for the night, was wantonly ripped up, and its contents scattered to the winds. His cow, his horse, his domestic poultry were seized ; vain were his own entreaties, the tears of his wife, the lamentations of his children. Accustomed, in his own person, to misery and privation, the soldier had become a selfish being, totally dead to feelings of compassion.

Every kind of grain was scattered wantonly over the ground, devoured by the cattle, or trodden in the mire. Orchards were laid waste, the trees cut down, and every field of turnips, cabbages, or potatoes, that chanced to be in the

neighbourhood of a French military station, was soon converted, by hungry men and cattle, into a desert waste. But "even-handed justice" returned in the sequel the poisoned chalice to the lips of these implacable destroyers. The famine at length extended to themselves.

In the city the French constrained the bakers to work up the last of their stock of meal, for the supply of the army, planted sentinels at their doors, who drove away, with the butt ends of their muskets, the famished citizens who applied for bread. A scanty supply of potatoes, extravagantly dear, was the only support of the inhabitants.

The grand army of the Allies was now in execution of their concerted plan, debouching from the defiles of Bohemia, to march in a southerly direction, through Chemnitz and Freyberg, upon Leipsic. The army of the King of Naples retired before them. The French forces under Ney, posted to the north-west of the city, also retreated before the Crown Prince, and Blucher, who had formed a junction, on the 10th of October, at Zorbig. The corps of Ney, Regnier, Bertrand, and Marmont, had arrived at Leipsic, and were followed by that of Augeréau. The

Prince of Schwartzenberg's advance to Altenburg was known in the city; and the light troops of the Crown Prince, might be discovered from the steeples, in the direction of Breitenfeld and Lindenthal. The King of Naples established his head-quarters at Connewitz, a village at a short distance to the southward of Leipsic. French generals and staff-officers were now continually arriving, troops were marching and counter-marching through all the four grand entrances to Leipsic. The *videttes* at the out-posts were frequently made prisoners by the Cossacks, who skirmished with the greatest adroitness and audacity.

Every thing now indicated that the grand drama was approaching to its catastrophe. The French were making every preparation for a general battle.

Napoleon has been blamed for choosing a position, such as Leipsic, for the theatre of a general engagement; but it has elsewhere been before observed, that he had now a defensive part to play. Hemmed in on all sides in no other

position could he have made a stand, as will appear evident, when the nature of the ground is considered. The plain of Leipsic is intersected, from north to south, by rivers; and, on either side of the city, by woods and morasses. Napoleon adopted the precaution of breaking down most of the bridges, not, as has been supposed, in the confidence of victory, but in order to render the approach of the Allies on his flanks more difficult. He took, however, good care to keep open the bridge and defile of Lindenau, situated in the line of his eventual retreat; and all the attacks of Count Giulay on that side were repelled; had they succeeded, the French would have been cut off.

Leipsic, therefore, it seems, formed a sort of *tête-de-pont* for his retiring army; nor will his assertion, that he could better have covered his retreat, if he had chosen to burn\* the suburbs, appear totally without foundation. The Emperor of the French had certainly fearful odds to contend with, the shattered remains of his different *corps d'armée* could not, in the aggregate, amount

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\* See page 48.

to more than 170,000 men ; the Allied army opposed to him was, at least, 270,000 strong\* ; he was infinitely inferior to them in the composition and numbers of his cavalry, the men were raw and undisciplined, the horses starved and debilitated ; marshy ground, intersected with rivers, could alone present an obstacle to the numerous, fresh, and well appointed cavalry of his enemy.

The description of a field of battle, is, perhaps, the duller task of the historian, or reader ; a single plan does more than pages of unconnected names of places, towns, and villages, and details of centres and flanks. Suffice it to say, that previously to the 15th of October, the French army had occupied, in a grand semi-circle, extending from Gohlis on the north, turning towards the east, thence to the west, and ending at Connewitz and the adjacent woods on the south, the small, but only eminences in the plain of Leipsic.

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\* The following is the statement of their strength, from the Journals of the time :—Russians, under Barclay de Tolly, 80,000 ; reserve, under Benigsen, 40,000 ; Austrians, under the Prince of Schwartzemberg, 55,000 ; Swedes and Prussians, under the Crown Prince and Blücher, 100,000. Total 275,000.



Napoleon had a particular predilection for undertaking fresh enterprises on the anniversaries of those days that had already proved auspicious to him. The 14th of October, rendered propitious to the French by the battle of Jena, was fully expected to be celebrated by a similar sanguinary scene at Leipsic.

A lowering dawn, succeeding several rainy days, glimmered its uncertain light on the assembled hosts round Leipsic. The tramp of men, the sounding hoofs of horses, the rattling of carriages and cannon, the clamours of the drivers, and the distant hum of armies, had made the preceding night, to the citizens, one of sad and sleepless expectation.

The cannon now, at intervals, rolled its pealing thunders near Liebertwolkwitz, a village to the south-eastward of the city; the advanced guard of the Allies was harassing the army of the King of Naples.

Messengers arrived, announcing the approach of Napoleon and his ally.

About the middle of the day, the Emperor of the French arrived, accompanied by the King of Saxony. At the distance of about half a league

from the city, in the midst of the French army, the latter had narrowly escaped being captured by the Cossacks, a party of whom boldly and suddenly attacked him; a Saxon officer, with eighty horse, covered his retreat, and enabled the King to escape on horseback. Napoleon entered the city from the north, by the Berlin road; he had been expected to come by that of Dresden; he passed through \* without stopping, escorted by some regiments of the infantry and cavalry of his guard, and went out on the eastern side by the Grimma gate. The following is an account given by a spectator of his demeanour :—

“ On the arrival of the Emperor, a camp-chair and a table were brought in all haste, and a great watch-fire kindled in the open field, not far from the gallows. The guards bivouacked on the right and left. The Emperor took possession of the head-quarters prepared for him, which were any thing but magnificent, being surrounded only by the relics of the stalks and leaves of the cabbages consumed by his soldiers, and other matters still

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\* Baron Odeleben says, he went round without entering Leipsic.

more offensive. The table was instantly covered with maps, over which the Emperor pored most attentively for a considerable time. Of what was passing around him, he seemed not to take the smallest notice. The spectators crowded pretty close about him. They were allowed to approach, unobstructed, within twenty paces. A long train of carriages from the Wurzen road, the cracking of the whips of the postilions, together with a great number of horse soldiers and tall grenadiers, announced the arrival of another distinguished personage, and called the attention of the bystanders that way.

“ It was the King of Saxony, with his guards and retinue. He alighted, and a kind salutation ensued between him and his august Ally. The King soon afterwards mounted a horse, and proceeded into the city. Napoleon, meanwhile, remained where he was. He sometimes rose from his seat, went up to the watch-fire, held his hands over it, rubbed them, and then placed them behind him; whilst, with his foot, he pushed the wood, consisting of dry boards and rafters, from the nearest houses, into the flame, to make it burn more fiercely. At the same time he very

frequently took snuff, of which he seemed to have but a small quantity left in his gold box. At last he scraped together what was left, with his finger, and poured it out upon his hand. When all was gone, he opened the box several times, and smelt to it, without applying to any of the marshals and generals around him to relieve his want."

About four in the afternoon, the Emperor was informed of the arrival of his guards, who had marched from Duben, and entered by the northern gate; they passed through the city with their artillery, to the eastern side. Napoleon retired to the village of Reudnitz, and took up his quarters in the summer residence of M. Vetter for the night. The following account of the deparment of the Emperor and his suite, as given by the person left in charge of the house of his employer, is so interesting, and at the same time so naturally detailed, that we shall insert it nearly in the words of the narrator. It will be found the more applicable, because it materially confirms the authenticity of Baron Odeleben's relation concerning the economy of the Emperor's camp-household. A short time after the arrival of Napoleon at Leipsic, a French

*maréchal de logis du palais* came to the residence of M. Vetter, and desired to inspect the apartments, as the Emperor was about to take up his quarters in them for the night. The writer thus proceeds : “ The *maréchal de logis* inspected the smallest closets with the greatest minuteness. He announced that *sa Majesté* would certainly take up his head-quarters in my employer’s house, and asked for a piece of chalk, to mark each room with the names of the distinguished personages by whom they were to be occupied. When he had shewn me the apartment destined for the Emperor, he desired that a fire might be immediately lighted in it, as his Majesty was very fond of warmth. The bustle soon began ; the guards appeared, and occupied the house, and all the avenues. Many officers of rank, with numerous attendants arrived, and six of the Emperor’s cooks were soon busily employed in the kitchen. Thus I was quickly surrounded on all sides with imperial splendour, and might consider myself, for a moment, as its centre. I might possibly have felt no small degree of vanity on the occasion, had I not been every instant reminded that the part which I should have to act would be that of obe-

dience alone. I heard the beating of drums at a distance, which, as I presently learned, announced that I was shortly to descend into a very subordinate station. It proclaimed the arrival of the Emperor, who came on horseback, in a grey surt-out. Behind him rode the Duke of Vicenza, (Caulincourt,) who, since the death of Marshal Duroc, had succeeded to his office. When they had come up to the house, the master of the horse sprung from his steed with a lightness and agility which I should not have expected in such a raw-boned stiff-looking gentleman, and immediately held that of the Emperor." The writer now goes on to describe his astonishment and perturbation, when he found himself summoned by one of the generals into the presence of Napoleon himself, and gives the following account of his introduction and interview: "After the general had taken charge of me, I mustered my whole stock of rhetorical flourishes, best calculated to win the favour of a mighty Emperor. The general conducted me through a crowd of *aides-de-camp*, and officers of all ranks. They took but little notice, of such an insignificant being as myself, and, indeed, scarcely deigned to bestow a look upon me.

My conductor opened the door, and I entered, with a heart throbbing violently. The Emperor had pulled off his surtout, and had nobody with him. On the long table was spread a map of prodigious size. Rustan, the Mameluke, was, as I afterwards learned, in the next room. My presence of mind was all gone again, when I came to be introduced to the Emperor; and he must certainly have perceived by my looks that I was not a little confused. I was just going to begin the harangue, which I had studied with such pains, and to stammer out something complimentary, when he relieved me at once from my dilemma, and addressed me in French, speaking very quick, but distinctly, to the following effect: 'Are you the master of this house?' 'No, please your Majesty, only a servant.' 'Where is the owner?' 'He is in the city; he is advanced in years, and, under the present circumstances, has quitted his house, leaving me to take care of it as well as I can.' 'What is your master?' 'He is in business, sire.' 'In what line?' 'He is a banker.' 'Oho! (smiling) then he is worth a plum (*un millionnaire*) I suppose?' 'Begging your Majesty's pardon, indeed he is not!' 'Well then, perhaps, he may be

worth two ?' ' I heartily wish I could answer your Majesty in the affirmative.' ' You lend money, I presume ?' ' Formerly we did, sire, but now we are glad to borrow.' ' Yes, yes ; I dare say you do a little in that way yet ? What interest do you charge ?' ' We used to charge from four to five per cent., now we would willingly give from 5 to 10.' ' To whom were you used to lend money ?' ' To inferior tradesmen and manufacturers.' ' You discount bills too, I suppose ?' ' Formerly, sire, we did, but now we can neither discount nor get any discounted.' ' How is business with you ?' ' At present, your Majesty, there is none doing.' ' How so ?' ' Because all trade is totally at a stand.' ' But have you not your fair just now ?' ' Yes, but it is only so in name.' ' Why ?' ' As all communication has, for a considerable time, been suspended, and the roads are unsafe for goods ; neither sellers nor buyers will run the risk of coming, and, besides, the greatest scarcity of money prevails in this country.' ' So, so ! (taking much snuff,) what is the name of your employer ?' I mentioned his name. ' Is he married ?' ' Yes, sire.' ' Has he any children ?' ' He has, and they are married too.' ' In what capacity are you em-



ployed by him?' 'As a clerk.' 'Then you have a cashier too, I suppose?' 'Yes, sire, at your service.' 'What wages do you receive?' I mentioned a sum I thought fit.

"He now motioned with his hand, and I retired, with a low bow. During the whole conversation the Emperor was in very good humour, smiled frequently, and took a great deal of snuff. After the interview, on coming out of the room, I appeared a totally different and highly important person to all those who, a quarter of an hour before, had not deigned to take the slightest notice of me. Both officers and domestics now shewed me the greatest respect."

The reader will be reminded by the following description, of the account given of the manner in which the Emperor's staff reposed, in the 2nd chapter of the first Volume.

"The Emperor lodged in the first floor; his favourite Mameluke, an uncommonly handsome man, was constantly about his person. The second floor was occupied by the Prince of Neufchatel, who had a very sickly appearance, and the Duke of Bassano, the Emperor's secretary. On the ground-floor, a front room was converted into a

*salon de service*. Here were Marshals Oudinot, Mortier, Ney, Regnier, with a great number of generals, *aides-de-camp*, and other officers in waiting, who lay at night upon straw, crowded as close as herrings in a barrel. In the left wing lodged the Duke of Vicenza, master of the horse; and above him the physician to the Emperor, whose name, I think, was M. Yvan. The right wing was occupied by the *officiers du palais*. The smallest room was turned into the bedchamber of a general, and every corner so filled, that the servants and other attendants were obliged to sleep on the kitchen-floor.

“ I was commanded to deliver the keys of the hay-loft and barns to the Emperor’s *piqueur*. I earnestly entreated him to be as sparing of our stores as possible, supporting this request with a bottle of wine, which, in the present circumstances, was no contemptible present. He knew how to appreciate it, and immediately gave me a proof of his gratitude. He took me aside, and whispered in my ear, ‘ As long as the Emperor is here you are safe; but the moment he is gone, and nobody can tell how soon that may be, you will be completely stripped by the guards; the officers

themselves will then shew you no mercy ; you had best endeavour to procure a safe-guard of *gen-d'armes*, for which you must apply to the Duke of Vicenza.' I did not fail to take the hint, and procure the necessary immunity from the *grand écuyer* ; and on the retreat of the French, I experienced the truth of the assertion, with respect to the officers, for a French *aide-de-camp*, in my presence, very uncere-moniously took fifty cigars out of my bureau, and probably helped himself at the same time to some fine cravats, which I afterwards missed.

“After the Emperor's arrival there was no such thing as a moment's rest for me ; gladly would I have exchanged my high function, which placed me upon an equal footing with the first officers of the French court, for a night's tranquil slumber. *M. le maître de la maison* was every moment called for. As for his shaving himself, changing his linen, brushing his clothes, that was quite out of the question. His guest had remarked his good-will, and they imagined his ability was capable of keeping pace with it. Luckily it never came into my head, whilst invested with my high dignity, to look into a glass ; otherwise I should certainly not have known myself again, and Diogenes

would have appeared a beau in comparison. As to danger of life, or personal ill-treatment, I was under no apprehension, for who would have presumed to lay hands on so important a personage, who was every moment wanted, and whose place it would have been impossible to supply? I was much less concerned about all this, than about the means of saving the property of my employer, as far as lay in my power. The danger of having every thing destroyed was very great. The French ran with burning wisps of straw among large piles of trusses, regardless of the probable consequences.

“ The French guards had kindled a large fire, at a small distance from the house. The wind being high, drove, not only the sparks, but great flakes of fire towards it. The whole court-yard was covered with straw, which was liable every moment to set us all on flames. I represented this circumstance to an officer of high rank, and observed, that the Emperor himself would be exposed to very great risk; on which he ordered a grenadier, belonging to the guards, to go and direct it to be put out immediately. This man, an excessively grim fellow, refused, without ce-

rémony, to carry the order. ‘ They are, my comrades,’ said he, ‘ it is cold ; they must have a fire, and dare not go too far off. I cannot desire them to put it out.’ What was to be done ? I bethought myself of the Duke of Vicenza, and applied directly to him. My representations produced the desired effect, by the same means I saved an out-building, which the young guard were pulling down for the fire of their bivouac.”

“ Late at night the King of Naples came, with his retinue, from Stotteritz. He was attended by a black Othello, who seems to serve him in the same capacity as Rustan does his brother-in-law, Napoleon. On the 15th, at break of day, the Emperor departed with his suite, and took the road to Liebertwolkwitz.”

To return to the state of the city, night had now drawn a murky veil of darkness over the combatants, the rain descended in torrents upon the troops in bivouac round the walls of Leipsic. The horizon was illuminated in a semicircle by the watch-fires, the fiercer blaze of burning houses gave an awful magnificence to the scene. Crowds of persons, on foot and on horseback, were now passing through the palisadoed avenues.

of the town for refuge. The population of the neighbouring villages, abandoning their homes on the arrival of the troops, were flocking towards the city, with all of their little store that was portable. The French soldiers that remained in the rear searched every basket, and even the pockets of individuals, for provisions. Mothers, bathed in tears, were seen leading their nearly-naked children by the hand, laden with bundles, and carrying, perhaps, another child at their back. Fathers, in wild anxiety, seeking their families in the crowd. Persons taken from the bed of sickness, and placed in trucks to be removed into the city. The loud complaints of bewildered children, who had lost their parents were heard; and the groans of the wounded, who were crawling to the hospitals. The greater part of this miserable crowd of beings, huddled together in the corner, between the old hospital and the city-wall, near the Köhlgarten gate. Every fugitive brought some accession of mournful intelligence: "My neighbour's house has been fired, he has been transfixed by a bayonet, his wife, his children, are missing."

During the first part of this night of horror the disturbances of the preceding were continued,

the rolling of drums, the clangor of trumpets resounded, carriages, cannon, reinforcements of troops, were arriving till about midnight, when the bustle, in some degree, subsided. The wonted stillness of night was now only interrupted by the clamour of the bivouacking troops, the plaints of the unfortunate and houseless peasantry, with the *qui vive?* of the sentinels.

In the mean time the defences of the city, however weak, had been improved by every possible means, palisades, *chevaux de frise*, had been placed in every avenue, loop-holes cut in walls, and troops posted, to act as *tirailleurs*, behind them. For the same purpose apertures were cut in the great gates of the inner town, which is surrounded by a strong wall.

Some hundreds of Austrian prisoners were brought in, and lodged in the great church-yard, which had long before been used as a bivouac, and as a receptacle for Russian, Prussian, and Austrian captives. The church of St. John, which it surrounds, had, since the month of May, been converted into an hospital by the French, which, in the beginning of October, became crowded to excess. The sick and prisoners now

lay mingled together among the graves. The Germans, frequently left without food, straw, or covering, for several rainy and inclement days, crept into such vaults as they found open for shelter. The French paid no respect to the sacred monuments of the dead, they tore down the rails that surrounded the vaults, broke open the strong iron doors that secured them, stripped them of every ornament that was combustible, and carried their plunder to the fires of the bivouac.

On the 19th, this place was carried by storm, and carcases of dead men and horses strewed the graves. It was then converted into a prison for the French themselves, who, now exposed to the chill autumnal nights, penetrated, in search of a dwelling-place, into every vault that was accessible, descended into the deepest graves, threw the mouldering corpses, the bones, the skulls, in confusion, about the church-yard, and kindled fires with the coffins, to warm their shivering bodies. It is true, they had no alternative between these expedients and reposing between the grave-hills, exposed to rain, mists, and hoar frosts. A French soldier was found dead amid a



heap of coffins, piled on each other to the height of twelve feet: too weak to regain the top, he had lain there several days, and had literally been starved to death.

The cheering light of day, on the morning of the 15th, was shed on Leipsic, but to discover scenes of wretchedness and confusion, along the roads; and in the fields lay scattered naked bodies of dead soldiers, who, in a state of sickness, had endeavoured to reach their bivouacs. Innumerable carcases of dead and dying horses on all sides; the mortality among these animals was very great.

The 15th of October was passed in comparative tranquillity, all the columns of the Allies had not arrived, their arrangements for the attack were not completed. About eight in the evening three rockets, carrying after them a long trail of fire, of splendid whiteness, arose to an amazing height, in a southerly direction; shortly after, four, of a red colour, appeared in the northern horizon, towards Halle. These were, doubtless, concerted signals from the approaching armies.

On the 16th the day approached, veiled in

fogs and mists, accompanied by sleet and cold. The main body of the Crown Prince of Sweden's army had not yet come up; still the Allies determined to commence the attack, and the first glimpse of light was the signal for the march of their columns, which advanced in the following order:—General Blucher, from the north-west, on Gohlis and Wetteritz; General Klenau on the extreme right of the Austrians and Russians, by the Grimma road; General Kleist on Liebertwolkwitz; General Wittgenstein on Wachau; General, the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, on his left; General Count Mehrfeldt between the Elster and Pleiss on Connewitz; and General Count Giulay in the rear of the enemy's position before Leipsic, from Lutzen, on Lindenau. To General Blucher the French opposed the division under the Duke of Ragusa, Count Lauriston defended Liebertwolkwitz, the Duke of Belluno Wachau, and Prince Poniatowski the village of Döelitz, on the extreme right. General Bertrand was opposed to Count Giulay.

These dispositions will be at once comprehended, on sight of a detailed plan of the country round Leipsic. About six in the morning the

battle began by the attack of the village of Liebertwolkwitz by the Austrians; about ten o'clock the cannonade became general along the whole line on the eastward of Leipsic, and dispelled the mists of the morning. The roar of the cannon was awful beyond conception; the fire of single guns could no longer be distinguished, absolute platoons of artillery appeared continually to be discharged; the cannonade resembled the fitful bellowing and convulsions of Vesuvius, the whole line belched fire through dense and rolling clouds of smoke; the ground shook, and the short intervals of this "earthly thunder" were filled up by the incessant rattling and running fire of musketry on all sides.

Sweeping charges of Russian and Austrian cavalry, and of that of the French under Murat, occasionally took place.

Napoleon's system of fighting had occasioned a revolution in the art of war; extended lines of infantry were no longer seen, the battles of this campaign were chiefly carried on by cannonade. His partiality for artillery seemed to be increased; with it he sought, indeed, to supply his deficiency in cavalry. The infantry and cavalry,

on either side, were now drawn up in solid masses, artillery was placed in the intervals, the light troops as *tirailleurs* occupied all the broken ground, villages, houses, or woods.

The French at length succeeded in repulsing the assailants on their right, Count Mehrfeldt, and some Austrian prisoners, were captured. Napoleon sent orders that the victory of Wachau should be celebrated by the sound of all the bells in Leipsic.

The burgher and Saxon grenadier guards were drawn out on the public promenade before the city; a full band of music was playing by order of the French, and a regiment of their guard marched to this parade, now presenting a disgusting scene of filth, and expressed their exultation by commanded cries of *Vive l'Empereur*.

The wounded, however, who came in, gave a very different account; they answered all inquiries by *Les Cosaques ont encore la même position*: The Cossacks retain the same position. The country people stated, that the Russian reserve, under Bennigsen, was advancing from Grimma, and the army of the Crown Prince was hourly expected to come up.

In the mean time General Count Giulay attempted to make himself master of the pass of Lindenau; fresh troops, artillery, and a body of Polish cavalry, hastened through the Ranstadt gate to the support of General Bertrand; Napoleon, with the King of Naples, proceeded along the causeway as far as the Kuthurm (the cow tower), to reconnoitre the state of the action. The allied infantry had penetrated into the village of Lindenau, the French obstinately defended themselves, a tremendous running fire from their tirailleurs was kept up, shells and cannon-balls fell in the village, and fired it in several places; at length the Allies were repulsed, and the French retained this important pass, on the line of their retreat. The attack on Liebertwolkwitz, the point of contest on the right wing, was renewed, but the French eventually remained masters of the village \*. They had, however, receded

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\* The following passage of a letter from Count Schonfeld, a Saxon nobleman, formerly ambassador to the Courts of Paris and Vienna, will give an excellent idea of the desolation and havoc in the villages, during the battle of Leipsic. We extract it from the source before mentioned :—

“ The ever-memorable and eventful battles, from the 16th to the 19th of October, began upon, and between my two estates of Stormthal and Liebertwolkwitz. All that the oppressive im-

before General Blucher on the north; he had taken thirty pieces of cannon, an eagle, 2,000 prisoners, and had driven his enemy from his advanced position, close upon the villages of Gohlis and Eutritsch.

The church clocks struck six, the day closed, the cannonade simultaneously ceased, the distant patter of small arms occasionally continued,

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posts, contributions, and quarterings, as well as the rapacity of the yet unvanquished French had spared, became, on these tremendous days, a prey to the flames, or was plundered by those who called themselves allies of our King, but whom the country itself acknowledged as such only through compulsion. Whoever could save his life, with the clothes upon his back, might boast of his good fortune, for many who were obliged, with broken hearts, to leave their burning houses, lost their apparel also. Out of the produce of a tolerably plentiful harvest, not a grain is left for sowing; the little that was in the barns was consumed in bivouac, or, next morning, in spite of the tears and prayers of the owner, wantonly burned. Not a horse, not a cow, not a sheep, is now to be seen; nay, several species of animals appear to be wholly exterminated in Saxony. I have, myself, lost 2,000 Spanish sheep, Tyrolese and Swiss cattle, all my horses, waggons, and household utensils. The very floors of my rooms were torn up, my plate, linen, important papers and documents were carried away and destroyed. Not a looking-glass, not a pane in the windows, not a chair is left. The same calamity befel my wretched tenants, over whose misfortunes I would willingly forget my own. All is desolation and despair, aggravated by the certain prospect of epidemic diseases and famine."

night drew her mantle over the field of carnage, and the bivouac fires and blazing villages again glittered round the circle.

Miserable was the situation of the wounded, thousands of whom were now crawling into the city. The corn magazine, capable of containing about 2,500, had been cleared out for their reception. A ticket of admittance to this hospital was given to each wounded soldier at the city-gate. But it was soon filled to excess; notwithstanding tickets were still issued, so that when the bleeding man arrived, after a painful struggle at the portal, he found himself excluded, and left to groan in anguish, without surgical assistance, or expire upon the flinty couch of the pavement. Happy was he who could obtain from the compassion of some inhabitant a drop of water to quench his burning thirst, a crust of bread, or an apple, to sustain his fainting body.

All the large buildings in the city were, the next day, selected and converted into hospitals.

Sunday, the 17th of October, was now expected to decide this "dreadful lay." All was awful suspense. The advanced posts of the op-

ponents were within a musket-shot of each other. The order of battle was somewhat changed, the allied forces had disappeared on the north-west, and the two armies occupied parallel positions, the French resting their left wing upon Taucha, their centre on Stotteritz and Probstheyde, their right extended, as before, beyond Connewitz, to the wood of the Elster, which was occupied by their light troops. Some cavalry were posted in the meadows behind Lindenau, but the renewal of a serious attack on that pass appeared to be renounced by the Allies. In the forenoon a cannonade was heard beyond Gohlis, but it was soon discontinued; nothing was undertaken during the whole of that day; and men seemed, by agreement, to keep a sabbath, even in the work of hell, the mutual destruction of their species. The smoke from the smouldering ruins of the villages, fired during the actions of the preceding days, arose from various quarters. Suddenly the church of Probstheyde appeared in flames, and shortly fell in with a tremendous crash. This conflagration arose from the carelessness of the troops in



bivouac. The discharge of three cannon by the Allies closed the day.

As early as the dawn of the 18th, the battle recommenced by the attack of the French centre at Probstheyde: and by nine o'clock the cannonade had become general along the whole line. Near Losnig, a village south of Connewitz, is a hollow, forming a defile, skirted on one side by a wood, on the other by the village; on either hand of this defile the French artillery were posted in lines, each forming an angle with the road. The Austrian cannon, from the neighbouring eminences, enfiladed this position, and occasioned terrible slaughter. The French artillerymen and horses here lay dead in rows, numbers were swept off by single shot. Still the French could not be driven from this position on their right wing, nor the tirailleurs from the woods which supported it. All the villages in this quarter, on the Borna road, as far as Markleeberg, were in flames.

In the mean time the French had experienced a considerable reverse on their left wing at Taucha, which was chiefly composed of 8,000 Saxons,

under General Regnier, who, about three o'clock in the afternoon, shouldered their arms, and marched over to the enemy. They were observed and pursued by the French cuirassiers, but they faced about, and, supported by their horse artillery, forced their enemy to retire. The Cossacks greeted their new allies with hurrahs. The Saxons requested to be led against their former associates, but they were prudently sent into the rear, and their artillery alone was suffered to take a share in the engagement. They had been followed by some French regiments, who mistook the object of the manœuvre; these were made prisoners.

The circumstance above-mentioned produced undoubtedly an important effect on the issue of the engagement; by it the progress of the right wing of the Allies was materially facilitated.

The attacks on the centre were continued with variable success; there, and indeed along the whole line, every village was defended with cannon. The Allies possessed themselves of Stotteritz, but the French gallantly maintained themselves in Probstheyde till night-fall.

At five o'clock, Napoleon brought up hisartil-

lery of reserve; the cannonade was renewed with redoubled fury, every building in Leipsic seemed to totter with the shock; the *fusillade* was more concentrated than ever, at the end of an hour the action ceased, and ten great conflagrations again shed a red glare on the steeples of Leipsic.

During the night the French army withdrew from their advanced position, to the villages in the immediate vicinity of the city.

The plain of Leipsic, by three general battles, had now been drenched in human gore, her fields were strewed with dead and dying, her neighbouring villages in flames; yet, to the mere spectator, the fate of nations still appeared to tremble in the balance.

The firmness, perseverance, and imposing numbers of the allied armies, the excellent combination of their plan, left, however, Napoleon no alternative but retreat.

The French bulletins ascribe the failure of ammunition as one motive for this decision, and Baron Odeleben seems to corroborate the statement. Napoleon's resolution to retire was, in fact, like that of a lion, galled by the darts of numerous

hunters. The retreat of Leipzig bore no resemblance to the *sauve qui peut* rout of Waterloo.

Let us now return, for a moment, to Napoleon's quarters at Reudnitz; our informant thus continues his narration :

“ Very early indeed on the morning of the 16th, I remarked preparations for the final departure of the Emperor. The *maitre d'hôtel* desired a bill of the provisions furnished him. I had already made one out, but that would not do. It was necessary that the articles should be arranged under particular heads, and a distinct account of each given in. I ran short of time, patience, and paper. All excuses were unavailing, and there was no time to be lost; I readily perceived that all the elegance required in a merchant's counting-house would not be expected here, and accordingly dispensed with many little formalities. I wrote upon the first paper that came to hand, and my bills were the most miserable scraps that ever were seen. The amount was immediately paid. Finding that the *maitre d'hôtel* had not the least notion that it would be reasonable to make some remuneration to the servants, who had been so assiduous in their attendance, I was uncivil enough to remind him of it. He then

desired me to give him a receipt for 200 francs, which I immediately divided among the domestics, though he remarked that I ought to give each but three or four at most. I also made out a distinct account for the forage, but this was not paid. In the afternoon of the 17th, Marshal Ney suddenly appeared at the door, with a numerous retinue, and, without ceremony, took up his quarters in the house. I saw nothing of the Emperor all that day, nor did any circumstance worthy of notice occur. On the 18th, at three in the morning, Napoleon came, quite unexpectedly, in a carriage. He went immediately to Marshal Ney, with whom he remained in conversation about an hour. He then hastened away again, and was soon followed by the Marshal, whose servants staid behind. His post must have been a very warm one, for before noon he sent for two fresh horses, and a third was fetched in the afternoon. The cannonade grew more violent, and gradually approached nearer ; I became more and more convinced that the pompous story of the victory the day before was a mere gasconade. So early as twelve o'clock, things seemed to be taking a

very disastrous turn for the French. About this time they began to fall back very fast upon the city. Shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* suddenly resounded from thousands of voices, and at this cry I saw the weary soldiers turn about and advance. Appearances nevertheless became still more alarming. The balls from the cannon of the Allies already fell very near us. One of them, indeed, was rude enough to kill a cow scarcely five paces from me, and to wound a Pole."

"The concourse kept increasing; the wounded arrived in troops. Towards evening every thing attested that the French were closely pressed. A servant came at full gallop, to inform us that Marshal Ney might shortly be expected, and that he was wounded. The whole house was instantly in an uproar. *Mon Dieu, mon Dieu!* cried one to another; *le Prince est blessé—quel malheur!* Soon after the Marshal himself arrived; he was on foot, and supported by an *aide-de-camp*. Vinegar was hastily called for. The Marshal had been wounded in the arm by a cannon-ball, and the pain was so acute, that he could not bear the motion of riding.

"The houses in the village were every where plundered, and the inhabitants kept coming in to

solicit assistance. I represented their distress to an *aide-de-camp*, who only shrugged up his shoulders, and gave the miserable consolation, that it was now impossible for him to put a stop to the evil.

“At length, early on the 19th, we appeared likely to get rid in good earnest of our tormentors. All the French hurried in disorder to the city, and our *sauve-garde* also made preparations to depart. Already did I again behold, in imagination, the pikes of the Cossacks. All the subsequent events followed in rapid succession. My *gens d’armes* were scarcely gone, when a very brisk fire of sharp-shooters commenced in our neighbourhood. In a few moments the Pomeranian infantry poured from behind, through the garden into the house. They immediately proceeded, without stopping, into the city. It was only for a few minutes that I could observe with a glass the confused retreat of the French. Joy at the long wished-for arrival of our countrymen and deliverers, soon called me away. The galling yoke was now shaken off, probably for ever. I bade a hearty welcome to the brave soldiers, and, as I saw several wounded brought in, I hastened to afford them all the assistance in my power.”

We will resume our narrative. About midnight the bustle of the retreat began. The rear-guard, under Prince Poniatowski and the Duke of Tarentum, occupied the houses in the avenues of the suburbs, the gates, and every defensible position.

At six in the morning a proposal, in the name of the King of Saxony, was sent to the Allies, by which it was offered, to deliver up the city to them, on their allowing the French to evacuate it, with their artillery and baggage, and to reach a stated point. This was peremptorily rejected by the Emperor Alexander, with the assurance, however, that the city should be spared as much as the circumstances of its defence might allow.

The columns began on all sides to advance to the assault, under the fire of cannon and mortars, the balls and shells from the northern and eastern sides reached the inner town, battered in roofs, set buildings on fire, toppled down houses on the heads of their inhabitants, slew, or wounded, many of the affrighted citizens, running up and down in dismay for shelter. All the wild horrors of a capture by storm seemed now to impend over the city, and she appeared about to expe-



rience the fate of another Troy. But the generosity of the Allies preserved her from destruction.

The chaos of the retreat through the Ranstadt gate and the defile of Lindenau now began, in the midst of which the Emperor himself, accompanied by the King of Naples, appeared on horseback, with a few attendants.

About half past one o'clock, a corps of Prussians, belonging to the Crown Prince, stormed the city on the north-eastern side, and were first in the great square ; it was soon carried in other quarters by the different divisions. The musket balls were whizzing through the streets in all directions, the storming parties were seen pursuing the French through the streets at the point of the bayonet, and rushing through the city to fall upon the rear of the retreating army. The Ranstadt causeway passes over the river upon the Mühlgraben (the mill dam). Here the storming columns had pressed upon the retreating foe ; thousands of men and horses had been driven into the stream, their carcasses protruded in heaps above the water. The beautiful public gardens, Richter's, Grosboch's, Löhr's, in the neighbour-

hood of the city exhibited scenes of peculiar devastation. In that of Löhr, on the northern side, towards Gohlis, the French artillery had been stationed ; the trees were shattered by cannon-shot, the walks strewn with the dead ; the groans of the wounded and dying resounded from the shady recesses. The whole area of the field of battle was strewn, says the eye-witness we have before quoted, " with relics of torches, littered and trampled straw, bones and flesh of slaughtered animals, fragments of plates, a thousand articles of leather, scattered cartouch boxes, old rags, clothes thrown away, all kinds of harness, broken muskets, shattered waggons and carts, weapons of all sorts, thousands of dead and dying, horribly mangled bodies of men and horses ; and all these intermingled."

The rear-guard of the French having, by an obstinate defence, kept the Allies for some time in check, was, as we have said, pressing through the Ranstadt gate, towards Lindenau ; their compacted and confused masses afforded a certain mark for every shot from their advancing foe. On a sudden they found themselves assailed by a fire from the ramparts of the city, which the

Saxons had commenced upon them. They rushed on with increased confusion for the bridge of Lindenau, under which *fougades* had been placed for the purpose of blowing it up. The firing from the ramparts of the city confounded the party in charge of the bridge, the corporal commanding set fire to the combustibles, the bridge exploded, a shriek of dismay spread through the troops in the rear. They rushed into the river, were killed, or surrendered; thus the whole of the rear-guard, its artillery and baggage, fell into the power of the Allies. The gallant Poniatowski plunged, with his horse, into the Elster, and disappeared. The story which prevailed at the time, that the French rear was purposely cut off, is not only absurd, but entirely unsupported by evidence.

The booty captured by the Allies was exceedingly great, waggon-loads of military stores of rice and other provisions, for the army; 300 pieces of cannon, many of which had been turned; and between 30 and 40,000 prisoners.

Alexander, Frederick William, and Charles John met together in the great square of the city; about them appeared the heroes Blücher, Platow, Schwartzberg, Bülow, Barclay de Tolly, &c.

Shortly after the Emperor of Austria arrived. The whole were greeted by the most rapturous acclamations of the multitude; white handkerchiefs waved from every window; loud huzzas rent the skies. The Cossacks, Prussian, Swedish, Russian, and Saxon cavalry were seen mingled together. The monarchs alighted at the door of the King of Saxony's residence, General Bertrand, commandant of the city, whose conduct and character had obtained universal approbation, was seen advancing across the square, at the head of the French officers and commissaries, to deliver up his sword to the victorious sovereigns.

The Saxon grenadier guard, mounted in front of their monarch's residence, laid down their arms, and were replaced by a detachment of the Russian grenadiers. No personal meeting took place between the King of Saxony and the Allied sovereigns; the former was speedily sent off under a strong escort of Cossacks to Berlin.

But a small portion of the allied army continued the pursuit of the French; the greater part were seen reposing in innumerable files round the city. Thousands, without the means of appeasing their hunger and thirst, after labours so severe. The

grand work of emancipation from the Gallic yoke was accomplished, but the misery of Leipsic could not be so speedily removed. Her streets, covered with the dead and with the wounded, which her crowded edifices could not receive; her rivers choked with carcasses; her buildings demolished, or perforated by cannon-shot. The burial of the dead, the supply of the living, the care of the wounded, the re-edification of demolished dwellings, all imperatively called for prompt attention. Not even a sufficient quantity of lint could be procured for the supply of the hospitals, and every barber-surgeon's apprentice, however inexperienced, was obliged to contribute his efforts to curing or killing the mutilated sufferers in the hospitals\*.

It would be departing from the purpose of this chapter, minutely to follow Napoleon on his retreat across the Saale to Wiessenfels, Erfurt, Gotha, Eisenach, Fulda, Hanau, Frankfort, and

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\* Fifty-six edifices were after the battle devoted to the purpose of hospitals; the sick and wounded they contained amounted to 36,000; frequently 5 or 600 died in a day, but the number was still kept up by the admission of those who had been left in the circumjacent villages. A nervous fever carried off about 180 of the citizens weekly.

Mayence. Baggage, sick, and wounded were abandoned; burning towns and villages tracked the progress of the disappointed and infuriated French. At Hanau the Bavarians, under Marshal Wrede, endeavoured to interrupt their retreat; the military genius of Napoleon, however, still survived, Wrede was worsted with considerable loss, and on the 31st of October the Emperor established his quarters at Mayence.

Thus ended the Campaign in Saxony; such was the state of Leipsic, during those memorable days of October, and the termination of a gigantic engagement, which finds no parallel in modern times; half a million of combatants ranged in battle against each other; a thousand pieces of artillery, darting their murderous bolts through opposing ranks. Such the scenes of carnage and desolation with which the proud determination of one restless soldier;—

————— his unconquerable will,  
And courage never to submit or yield,

had deformed the smiling plains of Saxony\*.

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\* To the honour of our nation, it may here be recorded, that a most liberal subscription was entered into for the relief of the sufferers by the war in Germany. The sum collected was distributed in just proportions to the inhabitants of the districts,

An instrument in the hand of the Almighty, he was to owe his fall to his "vaulting ambition, which o'er leapt itself;" his office fulfilled, he was to resign the infallibility of his fortune, the sceptre of his power; his own dominions were to be ravaged by the warriors of the North, whom he had gone so far to seek; by soldiers from every nation of Europe. Finally, he was to be driven, a houseless exile, to expiate in captivity the miseries which the intoxication of his ambition had entailed upon that world to which, if he had properly directed his talents, he might have proved a blessing. His present treatment may not be generous; it may exhibit a petty political apprehension, unworthy of a great nation, but the wonder-working hand of heaven appears to exemplify its justice in the retribution.

One important wish will surely occupy every generous breast, that the blood so nobly shed on the plains of Leipsic, the fields of Vittoria, and the heights of Mount St. Jean, may be the means of restoring real independence and rational liberty

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towns, and villages that had suffered most; the particulars of the distribution, amount of the subscriptions, &c., may be found in the tenth edition of the pamphlet published by Mr. Ackermann, for the benefit of the charity.

to civilized nations ; that, after burthens, sacrifices, efforts like those which have been enumerated, they should not, in the end, find themselves constrained to exclaim, with the oppressed beast of the Fabulist,

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quid refert meâ  
Cui serviam, clitellas dum portem meas.

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## NOTES

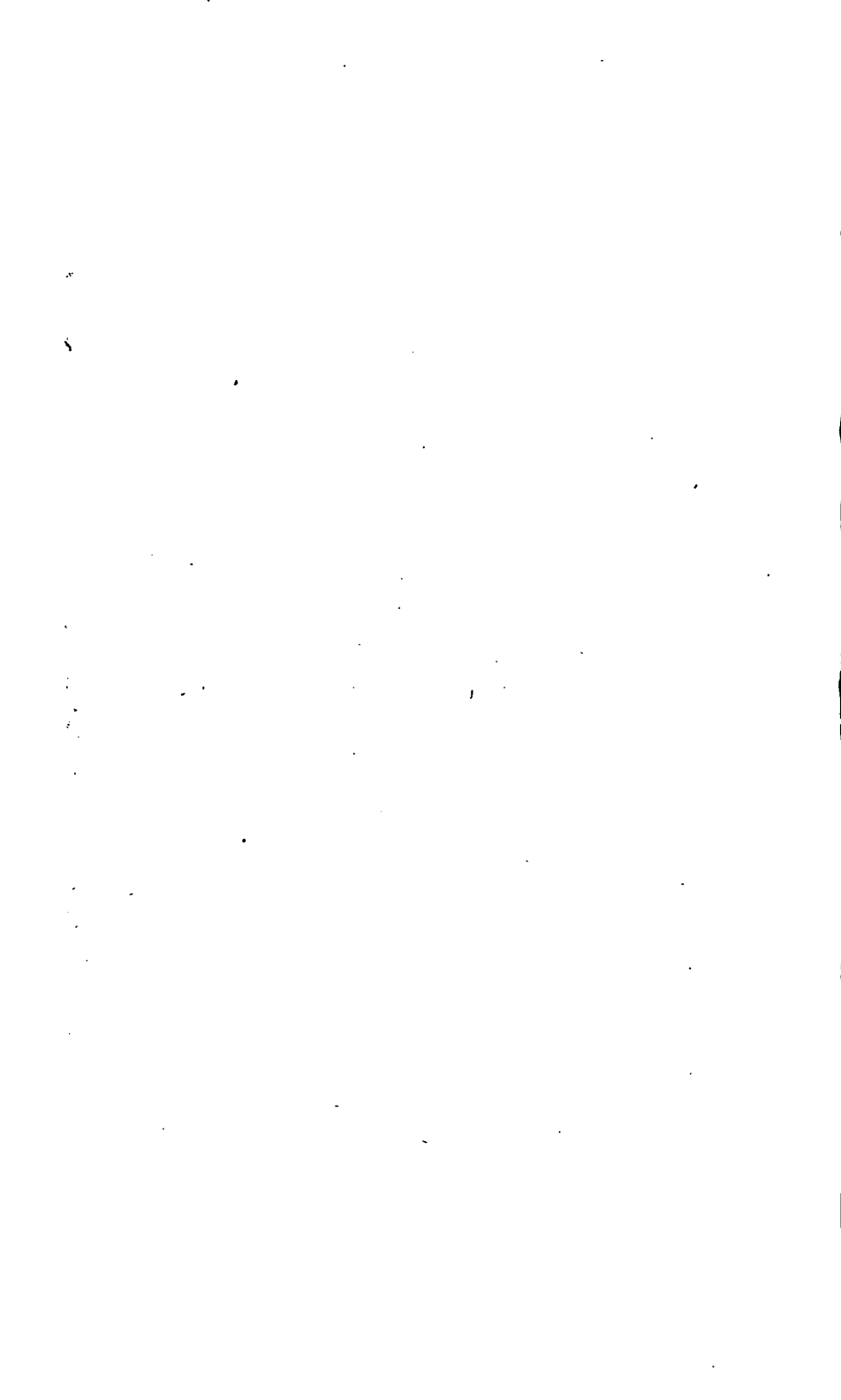
SUBJOINED TO THE FRENCH EDITION OF

# THE CAMPAIGN IN SAXONY;

BY M. AUBERT DE VITRY,

THE EDITOR.

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## NOTES.

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*The French troops, of the 7th corps d'armée, &c. Page 3.*

THE Author says, that the 7th corps, commanded by Regnier, was at Eilenburg on the 9th of October; but it was the 6th, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Ragusa, and which had manœuvred for fifteen days round Leipsic, in a circle of ten or twelve leagues.

*The veteran regiments from Spain, &c. Page 10.*

These old regiments from Spain might have suffered on the 14th, but they suffered much less than is pretended by the historian of the Campaign. He should not, besides, have forgotten the action of the 10th, in the plains of Lutzen; when these same regiments, commanded by Le Vicomte de Monteleger, now *aide-de-camp* to the Duke of Berry, broke, and cut in pieces, the best squadrons of the enemy's cavalry, the number of which was infinitely superior to that of the French. The dragoons of Latour, and several others, must certainly have observed, that the cavalry come from Spain was not annihilated.

*The corps of Marshal Ney, Marmont, &c. Page 15.*

The corps of Marshal Marmont had not quitted the suburbs and environs of Leipsic from the evening of the 9th. When he returned from Eilenburg, he had

been placed on the left of the army, in order to observe the high road from Halle; the Historian is also mistaken with respect to the position of Marshal Augereau, who formed the extreme right; but it would be too great a task to rectify all Baron Odeleben's errors.

*The side of Mersebourg. Page 17.*

It was certainly in that direction that the armies of Bernadotte and Blucher came up, and Buonaparte, deceived by his spies, was completely ignorant of the circumstance. He caused a *reconnaissance* to be made on that point, in the evening of the 15th of October. We have heard M. Viennet (who now devotes all his time to literature) relates, that being at the advanced posts, he was charged with making this *reconnaissance*. He had to engage the Prussian infantry, and made his report accordingly. Napoleon, who ardently wished that no infantry might advance in that direction, sent two formal contradictions to Captain Viennet, the first at midnight by an orderly officer; the second at eight in the morning of the 16th, by a general, his *aide-de-camp*, who having satisfied himself by his own eyes of the presence of these masses, ran in all haste to confirm the report, and the result of the previous *reconnaissance*. It was too late, these masses, 60,000 strong, and preceded by a hundred pieces of artillery, overwhelmed Marshal, the Duke of Ragusa, in less than five hours, who had hardly 16,000 to oppose to them. There perished the *élite* of the marine artillery.

*This general caused the Swedish redoubt, &c. Page 20.*

The capture of this redoubt exhibits a remarkable circumstance. A regiment of light infantry was in position before it. Buonaparte came up, exposed to the ter-

rible fire, which proceeded from the redoubt. "What regiment is this?" said he to the officer who commanded it. "The 22nd light infantry," replied the latter. "That is impossible," returned Napoleon; "they would not remain thus, with their arms folded, and suffer themselves to be mowed down by their enemy." The regiment was roused by these words, and the redoubt carried. Six thousand Austrians defended it.

*Lindenau, where General Bertrand was stationed.* Page 27.

General Bertrand, himself, commenced the attack on this point, in order to clear the road to Weissenfels, an operation which he effected in the action of the 16th. The enemy did not presume to appear again in that quarter during the three following days.

*There the grand and decisive engagement, &c.* Page 28.

What high desert! There were more than 400,000 men against 120,000 French. The King of Saxony, who observed the movements of the two armies from the top of a tower, could not conceive how a handful of brave men, surrounded under the walls of Leipsic, and forming the centre of a semi-circle, could so long resist four lines of artillery, infantry, and cavalry, which composed the circumference.

*Part of the Saxon artillery and cavalry, &c.* Page 32.

Whatever the official bulletins may say, the whole of the Saxons went over to the enemy during the action of the 18th. General Regnier, who thought that this corps was executing a movement in advance without orders, rushed to the head of the column, exclaiming—"Where are you going? What are you about?" The most dismal silence prevailed in the ranks. The officers and soldiers

held down their heads. The Saxon general alone preserved the boldness of open perfidy. At last, some young officers begged General Regnier to retire, saying, "Do not add to our infamy, that of carrying you off with us to the enemy." Regnier withdrew, and some minutes after the corps of Saxons faced about, and signalized their defection by a tremendous discharge of artillery. On the 20th of October, those officers who were members of the Legion of Honour, hid the decoration under their clothes, to conceal it from the eyes of their superiors, who had forbidden them to wear it, but shewed it with pride to the French prisoners, whom they met in the streets of Leipsic.

*The bridge of Lindenau, &c. . Page 45.*

The blowing up of the bridge was occasioned by some musket-shots, fired from the ramparts of Leipsic by the Saxon battalion, which Napoleon had left in the square, telling them to defend the King from the first fury of the enemy. He had quitted him, pressing his hand, and saying, "Adieu, we shall meet again." The serjeant of engineers, remarking the *fusillade*, believed the city was taken, and blew up the bridge. More than 14,000 men were captured through this accident, among whom must be reckoned the entire corps of Prince Poniatowski; the loss would have been the same, even had the bridge been preserved. It was no longer possible to defend the gardens. The enemy was penetrating on all sides. An officer had spread the alarm on the *boulevards* of Leipsic, which were choked up with carriages, cannon, waggons, and regiments which were filing through the intervals. This officer called out that the draught horses must be ham-strung. It is inconceivable how two or three French divisions could so long defend the suburbs, against such a number of enemies and cannon.

Generals Regnier and Lauriston were taken on the bank of the river. Macdonald had passed it on horseback, but, as the Elster is enclosed in that part between steep banks, it is affirmed that he was only enabled to reach the opposite shore, by abandoning his horse, and clinging to the branches of a tree. Poniatowski had also plunged his horse into the river; the animal, rather fiery, was scared by the fall; he endeavoured to reach the ground with his hinder legs; the Polish marshal pulled the rein, and the horse falling over upon him, he was borne down by the current and drowned. His funeral obsequies (performed on the 19th of November, in the church of the Holy Cross, at Warsaw,) were those of a hero. Victors and vanquished, all the nations of Europe, assisted at them, and forgot their enmity to mourn over the grave of Poniatowsky. Napoleon escaped through a garden gate. If chance had not afforded him that outlet, he would certainly have been taken. The two gates of Halle and Weissenfels were choked up, and the fire of small arms had already reached them.

*The spoilers of Saxony had excited the hatred, &c. Page 54.*

There was so little animosity against the French, that the prisoners remaining at Leipsic were as well treated as the victors. The devastation of which Baron Odeleben speaks, was the work of Europe at large, and the Saxons themselves pillaged their countrymen, when they had an opportunity. The fault certainly rests with the author of this war; and the newly adopted practice of making war without magazines, will in future occasion the same disorder and devastation, until that moment when nations shall learn how to defend their own territories, and exclude a foreign foe.



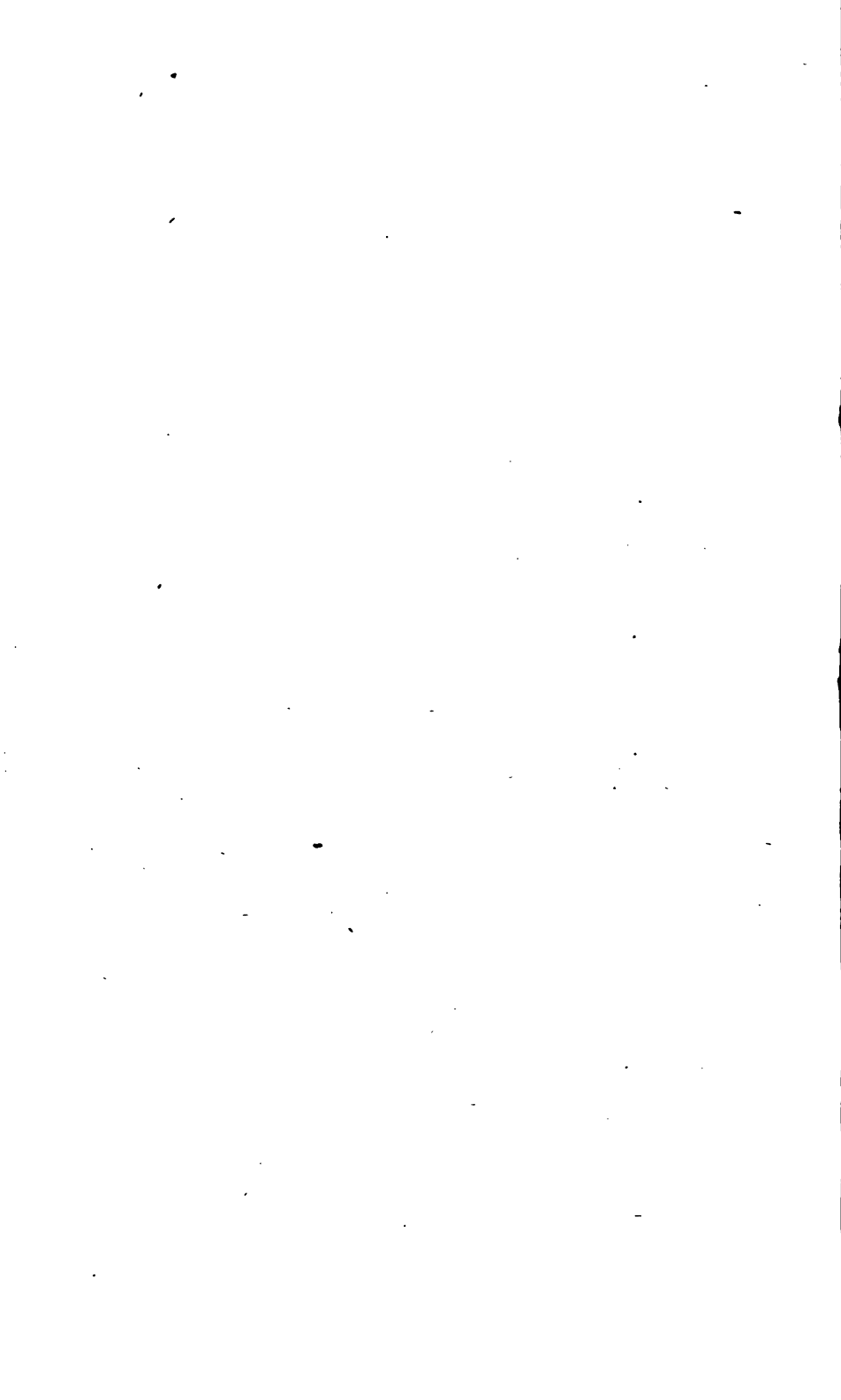
*This pretended retreat, &c. Page 198.*

The plan of the Allies was certainly to fatigue us by painful marches and counter-marches ; but as their victories could not but accelerate the destruction of our divisions, by throwing them upon one another, and forcing them to concentrate upon an isolated point, it is undoubtedly true that every time the enemy's corps retreated, they were constrained to do so by the courage of our troops. Blücher and the other hostile leaders would not voluntarily have retarded the result of their manœuvres, and the success of their combinations. It is to sport with our readers to attribute all their retreats to the *will* alone of the enemy's generals who performed them ; the fact is, they were absolutely and soundly beaten. A false manœuvre of Vandamme preserved Bohemia, on the frontiers of which we had arrived. An extraordinary increase of the waters of the Bober, deprived Macdonald and Lauriston of the fruit of their victories in Silesia, and the whole army of that of the glorious battle of Dresden.

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The whole of these Notes have been furnished by the same French officer who contributed those contained in the first volume, relating to the detail of the military events.

## **APPENDIX.**



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**DOCUMENTS**

**ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE NARRATIVE OF EVENTS**

**WHICH OCCURRED**

**At DRESDEN IN 1813.**

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## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

We, Frederick Augustus, by the Grace of God, King of Saxony, &c.

WE find ourselves, by existing circumstances, under the necessity of quitting our capital, and of retiring to another part of our kingdom, where we think of remaining as long as circumstances may require, and admit. The political system to which we have for the last six years attached ourselves, is that to which the state has been solely indebted for its preservation in the most threatening dangers in the course of that period. True to our treaties of alliance, we still look forward with confidence to the happy result which, even if our wishes for the restoration of peace should remain unfulfilled for the present, we may promise ourself from the powerful assistance of our great ally, the active support of the confederated powers, and the tried valour of our troops, who have covered themselves with glory in fighting for their country's cause.

Our beloved subjects will, by their loyalty, constancy, and quiet conduct, in the surest manner promote the attainment of the end which we have so much at heart; namely, to avoid and lighten as much as possible, the evils of war, and thereby hasten the period of our re-union with them.

During the whole course of our forty-five years of government, and under all changes of circumstances, we have made the welfare and happiness of our subjects the sole objects of our endeavours ; and have found the highest reward for all our cares, in the ever-equal confidence and immoveable attachment of our people. We make ourselves assured of receiving still continued proofs of these sentiments, which are most conspicuously shewn in times of trouble ; and we thus hope, with the assistance of God, soon to return to our beloved subjects, and again to employ myself for their durable welfare to the best of our ability.

All the officers of the kingdom are to remain in their usual occupations during our absence. The care of the country's welfare in all occurrences and situations, which may be produced by the state of war, we have consigned to an *Immediate Commission* established here, to which all magistrates and subjects of our kingdom have to apply, under the circumstances before mentioned, and to follow its directions in all cases.

We again exhort our faithful subjects to support the ancient renown of the Saxon people, by a peaceable and orderly conduct, consistent with the unalterable sentiments and intentions which have always influenced us for the true prosperity of our native country.

Done and given under our proper signature, and with the impression of our Royal Seal, at Dresden, the 23d of February, 1813.

(L. S.)      FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

*Proclamation of the Immediate Commission.*

HIS Majesty on leaving Dresden, exhorted his faithful subjects to maintain the Saxon honour by a consistency of conduct, and by preserving peace and tranquillity. Not-

withstanding some inhabitants of this city have committed excesses that oblige us to remind them of the dispensations of the law, and chiefly of the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th ordinance against commotions, and for preserving of the public peace and good order, which ought to be held sacred by every good citizen who is attached to his king. The temporary government wishes the inhabitants to recollect that the dispositions relative to the bridge, and others which are designed to protect the city from an attack on the part of the enemy, will only be enforced in case of great emergency; and that all disturbance on account of those dispositions, will not only subject its authors to punishment, but will also be productive of consequences most fatal to public tranquillity.

THE ROYAL IMMEDIATE COMMISSION for SAXONY.

*Extract from the Ordinance of the 18th of January, 1791,  
against Commotions.*

10. " IN case of commotion, no one shall personally quit, or allow his domestics to quit, his house, in order to join the crowd. Those who, induced by chance or curiosity, shall find themselves amidst the crowd, must immediately hasten home; and in case of disobedience to these directions, they will be punished as disturbers of the public peace.

11. " Those who persuade other persons to join assemblies, induce them to oppose or resist the government, or exact any thing by force, will be considered and treated as instigators of tumult; as also, those who, in similar cases give advice to assemblies, call them together, or march at their head; those who publish seditious writings—who, in an assembly already formed, excite the people to acts of unlawful violence, or constrain peaceable citizens to take a part in disorders, by violence and threats.



12. " The instigators, or the heads of a commotion, when such has really broken out, will receive sentence of decapitation ; and if circumstances are proved against them in aggravation of their crime, they will incur the torture of the wheel.

13. " When a designed commotion shall not have broken out, and circumstances of extenuation attach to the case, the ring-leaders will be condemned according to circumstances, to hard labour for ten years, or for life."

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## No. II.

*Dresden, March 11, 1813.*

### *Proclamation of the Municipal Council.*

WE have heard with the deepest regret, that in the afternoon and evening of yesterday, a great number of the inhabitants of this city abandoning themselves to the anxieties which the military measures taken with respect to the bridge occasion, have engaged in discourses, and even outrages, in violation of good order ; and which may become fatal to the whole of the inhabitants of Dresden. We are persuaded that the sensible part of the public will unite with us in censuring such conduct. In the mean time, we exhort all the inhabitants to beware of augmenting our common woes in these disastrous moments, by giving way to their fears ; and to await with that courage and tranquillity which does honour to the good citizen, the decrees of Providence, which the wills of men cannot arrest. Let every enlightened man—every father of a family, make it his duty to inspire his children and fellow-citizens with these sentiments.—Those who, considering as immaterial the dangers to which they

are exposing us, continue to disturb public tranquillity by harangues and outrages, will incur all the rigour of the law. Be assured, fellow-citizens, that we have done all which prudence can dictate, and that we will continue to exert our utmost efforts to avert from this city the calamities which may threaten it; or at least, to alleviate their rigour.

The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of DRESDEN.

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### No. III.

*Report of an Eye-witness of the Events which occurred at Meissen.*

ON the 3rd of March, General de Rechberg arrived here from Königsbrück, with nearly 1,400 Bavarians. The soldiers were quartered in the town and the environs.

On the 9th the General received an order from the French commandant of Dresden to burn the bridge on the approach of the Russians.

On the 10th and 11th, nearly 40 faggots of wood, with trusses of straw, pitch, and other combustibles were placed on the bridge. The Municipal Council having remonstrated, the General promised that only the small wooden arch should be burned. The roof and the lateral partitions constructed of planks were consequently demolished; every necessary measure was taken to prevent the fire from spreading to the neighbouring houses.

On the 12th at noon the Prince of Eckmühl arrived at this town, and after he had inspected the bridge, gave orders that it should be entirely consumed: a great quantity of fresh combustibles was immediately carried thither. It was presumed that the decisive moment was not very dis-

tant, although nothing had been declared to that effect. At 9 o'clock in the evening, the advanced posts on the right bank were withdrawn. A detachment of twenty-eight Bavarians, under the command of a sergeant-major, was ordered to set fire to the bridge. At half-past ten the great arch was in flames: shortly after the smaller one was fired. A spectacle was presented at once awful and magnificent! The inhabitants, dumb with grief, contemplated it with tears in their eyes, their mournful silence was only disturbed by the crackling of the flames, or the noise of a flaming beam or of a red-hot anchor falling from time to time into the river. The great arch, the flames of which illumined the ancient cathedral, the river and the hills on its banks, burnt nearly for three quarters of an hour, and then was precipitated with a thundering crash into the Elbe, foaming with its fall. A short time after the small arch also sunk, and the two masses were slowly floated down the tide.

On the 13th in the morning, the Prince of Eckmühl entered Dresden with his corps and a division of Bavarians. Towards noon all the Bavarians began their march for Riesa and Strehla, (below Meissen,) in order to protect the line of the Elbe. Nearly 200 French with four pieces of artillery under the command of the *chef de bataillon* Lohhausen remained behind. A sentinel was placed on the wreck of the bridge, and two pieces of artillery on either side. Towards the evening some Cossacks were seen in front of the town. The following proclamation appeared the next day, which, as may be perceived by the style, was dictated to the municipality, or perhaps, only published in its name.

#### PROCLAMATION.

*Meissen, March 14, 1813.*

THE burning of the bridge has diffused alarm among the inhabitants who appear to fear other evils of a similar de-

scription. The Colonel, at present commanding in this city, and with whose concurrence we make this proclamation, has declared that the inhabitants may banish all apprehension ; no idea has ever been entertained of burning the hay and straw which are in this town, especially as the store of these is but very inconsiderable ; and that he remains himself in the town only to ensure our safety. Citizens, take courage, do not fear greater calamities, let hope inspire your bosoms, continue to preserve order and tranquillity among yourselves. Excesses will draw down severe punishment on those who are guilty of them. Shew yourselves obedient to all that is necessarily required of you under present circumstances ; your magistrates fail not to watch over your interests.

The MUNICIPALITY and the COUNCIL.

The superior Commandant of the City of Meissen,

DE LOHHAUSEN.

On the 16th, 17th, and 18th all the mills constructed on boats were brought over to the left bank, and all the ferry boats, even those which had been sunk, destroyed. On the 19th the Prince of Eckmühl with his corps returned to Dresden, and occupied the left bank of the Elbe. He caused the entrance of the bridge to be fortified. On the morrow he again began his march, and descended along the Elbe. On the 21st the French, who had been left in the city, quitted it also, and were replaced by the Bavarians. Some cannon were fired, but without effect, from the adjacent heights, as well as from the bridge, upon the Cossacks who appeared on the opposite bank. On the 23rd the Saxons, under the command of General Lecocq, who had left the French, passed through the city on their way to Torgau. The Bavarians then quitted Meissen for Dresden, and were replaced by a battalion of the regiment of Prince Clement's infantry. Two days after this battalion

left Meissen, and fifty Saxon hussars arrived there. On the 26th, at six o'clock in the morning, after the Cossacks had passed the Elbe at Nieschietz, a league below Meissen, they set fire to the alarm colours\* which had been planted on the heights near the city, and the hussars began their march on the Nossen road. At eight o'clock in the morning some Bavarian troops arrived from Dresden, where a strong picket was detached, which went to Zehren, a league and a half below Meissen, with two pieces of artillery; they planted these to command the bridge of a small river which intersects the road near Zehren, and the infantry fired upon some Cossacks who were wheeling about in the neighbourhood. At eight o'clock in the evening, General de Rechberg arrived from Dresden at Meissen with the Bavarian infantry hussars, and Saxon dragoons. The picket at Zehren was withdrawn, and on the morning of the 27th, all the troops began their march upon the Nossen road. In the afternoon the first Russians appeared on the left bank upon the height called Plossen†; they consisted of about eighty Uhlans, some of whom advanced as far as the suburbs. Two hours later some hundreds of Cossacks passed the Elbe swimming, and established themselves in the city and the suburbs.

On the 28th a greater number of Cossacks arrived, under the command of Prince Matadoff; they had passed the Elbe at Werschwitz, the following day they continued their march.

On the 30th and 31st, numerous Russian cavalry arrived and two batteries of light-pièces, which again began their march on the 2nd of April; a short time before forty Prussian

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\* Alarm colours are placed as signals in elevated situations, having combustibles attached to their staves, which are fired as occasion may require.—EDITOR.

† The road to Wilsdruf and Nossen passes over this height, which commands the city.

pioneers had arrived at Dresden, in order to construct a bridge of rafts, but as wood was deficient, they established a bridge of boats which was completed on the 6th. The workmen then repaired to Muhlberg, to construct a similar bridge at that place.

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## No. IV.

## PROCLAMATION.

*Dresden, March 13th, 1813.*

ALL communication with the right bank is broken off until fresh orders. The inhabitants are expressly forbidden to proceed as far as the advanced posts; those, who shall violate this order, shall be treated as enemies. Persons on business are alone allowed to go to the suburbs. At the first gun which shall be fired on the right bank, all the inhabitants are to retire to their houses.

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## No. V.

*Dresden, March 19th, 1813.*

By order of the Prince of Eckmühl, the inhabitants are cautioned, that in the morning, when they shall hear three cannon fired, they must retire to their houses, which they shall not quit until three hours have elapsed.

**The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of DRESDEN.**

## No. VI.

*Dresden, March 23rd, 1813.*

By the express order of the General of Division, Durutte, Commander in Chief *pro tempore* of this city and its suburbs, the inhabitants of the town as well as of the suburbs are warned, that in case the enemy should approach and endeavour to molest the posts on this side of the Elbe, all the citizens are to keep themselves quiet, and to withdraw peaceably into their houses. Those who ramble about the troops, upon whatever point they may be placed, will be regarded as spies; if they assemble in groups and do not disperse at the first notice, the troops will fire upon them, conformably to the orders they have received. Every reasonable man will himself feel how indispensable these measures have been rendered by the situation in which we are placed. The paternal solicitude that we entertain for the people committed to our care being greatly augmented by the experience of the late events, we do not delay an instant to acquaint them with these measures, and we seriously exhort all persons to obey them.

The householders will communicate, without delay, this notice to their lodgers.

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF DRESDEN.

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No. VII.

*Dresden, March 22, 1813.*

THE inhabitants of Dresden are apprized, that to-day at noon the Russian troops will occupy the new town; and that in order to preserve both towns, no hostilities will be committed either on the right or the left bank of the Elbe, within the circuit of a league, both above and below the capital.

In the mean time, according to this convention, which is to take place to-day at noon, all communication between the new and the old towns is expressly forbidden. Those who shall endeavour to pass the Elbe, in defiance of this order, shall be arrested immediately by the troops, and treated as spies.

The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of DRESDEN.

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## No. VIII.

*Dresden, March 25, 1813.*

As from this evening hostilities may re-commence between the troops in presence of each other, we exhort the inhabitants of the city, as well as of the suburbs, to retire to their dwellings on the first alarm; in order that they may not obstruct the troops in their movements, or expose themselves to the most unpleasant consequences, or even to death itself. We remind masters belonging to trades, of the order we gave them by word of mouth, that they should confine to their houses the workmen and apprentices who are employed in their service. Masters, in case of disobedience, will become responsible, and be punished with three days' imprisonment. We recall also on this subject the tenor of several articles of the preceding proclamations. Landlords must shut the doors of their houses at half-past nine o'clock in the evening. Persons observed in the streets later, and who are not able to prove that indispensable business obliges them to leave their homes, will be arrested by the patrols; and if circumstances shall require it, conducted to prison.

The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of DRESDEN.



## No. IX.

*To the Inhabitants of Saxony.*

*" Buntzlau, March 23rd. 1813.*

" SAXONS!—We Prussians enter your territory to offer you our fraternal hand. In the north of Europe the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful Court of Justice, and the Angel of Death has cut off 300,000 strangers, by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the antient thrones, and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back foreign oppression; and in the high feeling of its victories, have promised liberty to the subjugated nations. We bring to you the morning purple of a new day. The time for shaking off a detestable yoke, which, during the last six years, dreadfully crushed us down, has at length arrived. A new war, unluckily commenced, and still more unhappily concluded, forced upon us the peace of Tilsit; but even of the most insignificant articles of that treaty, not one has been kept with us. Every following treaty increased the hard conditions of the preceding one. For this reason we have thrown off the shameful yoke, and advance to the heart-cheering combat for our liberty.

" Saxons! you are a noble, enlightened people! You know, that without independence, all the good things of this life are, to noble minds, of little value—that subjection is the greatest disgrace. You neither can nor will bear slavery any longer—you will no longer permit a cunning and deceitful system of policy to carry its ambitious and depraved views into effect, to demand the blood of your

sons, dry up the spring of your commerce, depress your industry, destroy the liberty of your press, and turn your once happy country into the theatre of war. Already has the Vandalism of your oppressive foreigners wantonly and unmercifully destroyed your most beautiful monument of architecture, the Bridge of Dresden. Rise!—join us—raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free!

“ Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the liberty of determination, deploring the steps a treacherous policy has forced him to take; we will neither attribute these to him, nor cause you to suffer for them. We only take the provinces of your country under our care for your Lord, which fortune, the superiority of our arms, and the valour of our troops, may place in our power. Supply the reasonable wants of our warriors, and in return, expect from us the strictest discipline. Application to me, the Prussian General, shall be open for all oppressed persons.—I will hear every complaint, examine every charge, and severely punish every violation of discipline. Every one, even the very meanest, may with confidence approach me. I will receive him with kindness.

“ The friend of German independence will, by us, be considered as our brother; the weak-minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road; but the dishonourable, despicable tool of foreign tyranny, I will pursue with the utmost rigour, as an enemy to our common country.”

(Signed)

BLUCHER.

## No. X.

*To the Troops under my Command.*

*Buntzlau, March 25, 1813.*

PRUSSIANS!—We pass the frontiers of our country to enter upon a foreign land—we come not as enemies, but as liberators. In fighting for our independence, we will not oppress neighbours who speak the same language, who profess the same faith as ourselves—whose warriors, side by side with ours, have often been crowned with the laurel of victory—who cherish equally with ourselves an insuperable hatred against the oppressor. The policy of their sovereign, led by the cunning of the French, is the sole obstacle which prevents them from turning their arms against the satellites of a foreign despot. Soldiers! be merciful towards this people—regard the Saxons as friends of the sacred cause for which we are about to combat—consider them as future allies. The inhabitants of Saxony, on their part, will satisfy your wants by pursuing a regular mode of administration. Imitate the example of your companions in arms belonging to the corps of Yorck, who, living for a considerable time in a foreign territory, have added new honour to the Prussian name by their rigid discipline.

I shall no longer regard that unworthy soldier as a Prussian, who may dishonour the name of his country by outrages. I will reward his crime by an ignominious punishment.

Soldiers! you know that I have always cherished for you the tenderness of a father, but you are not ignorant that I will never countenance excesses; that, those who are guilty of them, will behold in me an inexorable judge.

Signed)

BLUCHER.

## No. XI.

*Letter of Blucher, General of Cavalry, Commander in Chief  
of the Prussian Troops, to the Immediate Commission for  
the Government in Saxony.*

[Extract of a Journal, entitled *Dresdner Anzeigen*, (the *Dresden Intelligencer*,) April 1st, No. 74.

*Dresden New Town, March 31st, 1813.*

THE duty of a General obliges me to require those countries which are not our allies, and into which we are conducted by the events of war, to administer to the necessities of my soldiers.

The sacrifices I demand from Saxony, are much less irksome than those to which the Prussians, my countrymen, joyfully accede, notwithstanding all the losses they have experienced during seven years of misfortune. Besides, I have in no case stipulated that the supplies I require should be furnished gratuitously; it is to be hoped, on the contrary, that in a treaty of alliance which may be, ere long, concluded with the Saxons, our neighbours, the mode of indemnity will be decided upon.

I willingly concede the delay you require, with regard to the supplies which are not at present absolutely necessary, and I shall await, on this point, the decision of my sovereign; but to grant the least delay for those articles which are to supply the immediate urgent wants of the soldiers, would be an unpardonable neglect of the sacred duties which my station requires me to fulfil towards the troops of the august Allies.

I shall also, gentlemen, beg further to observe, that the acrimonious style which prevails in your memorial of yesterday, would be sufficient to irritate any man, who had not

the happiness of Germany, our common country, so much at heart as I have. I conclude by assuring you that I shall endeavour to alleviate, as much as possible, the burthens of war, sustained by your country, and that I will never suffer the authorities under my jurisdiction, to adopt the style of asperity which the Immediate Commission has suffered to appear in its communications.

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## No. XII.

*To the Inhabitants of the Circle of Cöthbus.*

*Buntzlau, March 22d, 1813.*

INHABITANTS of the Circle of Cöthbus ! a peace concluded in the days of misfortune, has separated you from us. You are among the number of the most antient children of the Prussian monarchy : your fathers have fought like heroes under the banners of Frederick the Great : their blood has been spilt for the independence of Prussia : your attachment to the family of our kings, has given you the irrevocable right of being called our fellow citizens ; we have never in our hearts ceased to be yours.

In the name of our sovereign, I attest that you are again his subjects ; the Prussian Eagle, under whose guardian wings you have long lived free and happy, from this day will be again displayed in your territory.

Let those who have formerly borne arms under the Prussian banner, again range themselves under our standards ; let those who wish to bear them once more for the restoration of our independence, seize the musket and join our ranks. Let the man of rank give a noble example to him who possesses no title ; cast your eyes upon your fellow countrymen, whom seven years of misery had separated from you, behold the sublime enthusiasm which fires every breast,

the sons of the most distinguished and opulent citizens, renouncing the prerogatives and enjoyments of their birth, disclaiming their dearest ties, hasten to our standards without inquiring what will be their rank, desirous alone to be styled defenders of their country. You are not less noble than your brothers, from whom you have, for a short time, been separated by outrage seconded by fortune; you will act as honour and duty shall dictate. Do not fail in your observance of the government placed over you. The Saxon government entertains paternal affection for its new subjects: obey it while it does not compromise the sacred cause of independence. Shew yourselves obedient to all that the royal commissioner, whom I have sent to you in the name of the King, requires of you.

(Signed) BLUCHER.

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### No. XIII.

#### *The Friends of Saxony to the Saxons.*

*April, 1813.*

BROTHERS, to whom we are united by the ties of blood, by the same language, by the same oppression, we approach you; open your hearts to us as you have opened your gates; the dreary night of ignominy has rendered us intimate friends; the bright dawn of a happier day will find us reunited. We are countrymen, we are brothers, in the heartfelt hope that you will not betray the sacred cause of our country, several among us boast of the glory of being related to you, of being born in the midst of you, of being educated according to your customs. We shall march across your valleys as it becomes brothers. To whom can the soil of our country, that paternal dwelling common to every German, be more sacred than to us, who have sworn to shed the last drop of our blood for its liberty?

It is for the liberty of Germany we will conquer, or die, if such be the decree of the Almighty. Shall the despotism of a stranger still trample upon your sacred laws, upon the venerable traditions of your ancestors? Shall foreign judges still usurp your tribunals? Shall a strange language replace the tongue of your illustrious fathers in your courts? Shall your barns, your cellars, nourish your merciless destroyers? Shall your wives, your daughters, your betrothed brides be still the prey of their lust? Shall your sons continue to be immolated upon the altars of tyranny and ambition? Recall to your remembrance the high deeds of your ancestors, the wars which Saxony waged against Charlemagne, the happiness she enjoyed under the sceptre of the Othos. Remember the heroes of your nation, the bravery of your Henrys, your Maurices, your Luthers. Ages have contracted the custom of transmitting to posterity the names of heroes that Saxony has brought forth. Your fathers have paid their sacred debt to glory. Let not the memorable age in which we live, produce men unworthy of her.

Behold your own condition, you are victims sacrificed to the unfeeling rage of an infuriated madman. Your comfort has vanished, your manufactories are annihilated, your commerce is destroyed, your infants will be massacred by thousands, they will perish in the flames, or in the midst of frost; raging hunger will devour their entrails, burning thirst will parch their lips, they will breathe their last sigh in the agony of despair. Of all your sons whom the tyrant has snatched from the bosom of their fathers, some few only will revisit their paternal roofs, and these but to bring into the fields of their country the germ of death, the agonies and despair which contagion will spread through the fertile districts of your country. Is this the only manner in which the barbarous despot will repay the blood of your youth? Can you expect moderation and unblemished faith from those

who over-run a foreign country ; who tread the sacred soil of your country, not in friendship, but from the thirst of plunder and debauchery ? What do they hold sacred ? Have they not profaned churches and altars ? Are they not defiled by perjury and slaughter ? Have they not lately, merely for the savage pleasure of destruction, destroyed the boasted monument of your capital ? And will you remain in ignoble repose ? Shall the crime go unpunished ; the ignominy unrevengeed ? No, brave Saxons, your infamy will not rest without vengeful retribution. Have you seen the Muscovite hurl the flaming brand into his own palaces ? Do you behold the Prussians—your brothers—your natural allies ?—all fly to arms. Every man who is strong enough to carry a musket or a pike, seeks his place in the landwehr, or in the landsturm. All have sworn to live free, or to die. And will you hesitate ? No ! I see you arise and shake off your chains. Behold our valiant legions ; we have sworn in the temple of God to fight—to die for our liberty—for your liberty. The benedictions of the holy church are with us ; the vows and the prayers of every upright heart accompany us. Come to us, young warriors of enslaved Saxony ; to us, brave men of a martial nation. Let him who cannot fight in our ranks, aid the cause of Germany by contributing according to his ability to the arming of the troops, by inspiring patriotism with his discourses. Your brothers in Westphalia await you, the Russian and Prussian eagles combat with you. God is on our side.

Every distinction of birth, of rank, of country, is banished from our legions ; we are all the sons of freedom ; we dare hell and its allies ; we will vanquish them, should we drown them in our blood. We are not mercenaries ; vengeance has formed our ranks\*, peace and happiness will disperse our cohorts. When the foe shall have expired in the dust ;

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\* In allusion to the corps of Revenge, see the Editor's notes, page 162 of this volume.



when from the hills of the Rhine, the flames shall have shed their red glare over the plain; when the German banner shall wave over the frontiers of France, we will suspend our swords on the antient oaks of our country restored to freedom, and we will revisit our peaceful dwellings.

Our work, if it please Heaven, shall soon be accomplished. On our side we have God and a just cause. Our God is an impregnable fortress. Amen.

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## No. XIV.

### *Appeal to the Germans.*

*Head-Quarters at Kalisch,*

*(19) 25th March, 1813.*

WHILE the victorious warriors of Russia, and of Prussia its ally, appear in arms in Germany, their majesties, the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, announce the return of independence and liberty to the German princes and their people. These sovereigns have quitted their dominions but to aid the nations to re-conquer those hereditary and unalienable rights of which they have been despoiled, to accord them their powerful protection, and to ensure a firm and durable pledge for the regeneration of a great and venerable empire. These motives alone, greatly superior to all personal ambition, (and for that reason, altogether worthy of their majesties), have obliged them to cause their armies to advance, and to direct their march in person. These armies, (commanded by the generals of the two sovereigns, under the eyes of the monarchs themselves), confiding in the Providence of a just God, hope, for the sake of Europe at large, to be able to achieve the object they have so happily begun, by breaking the shameful yoke under which they

themselves were groaning. They are, especially desirous of restoring for ever, liberty to Germany. They advance full of the enthusiasm inspired by these high ideas. Their rallying cry is "Honour and Liberty!" Let every German who wishes to bear that name, henceforth with honour unite himself to us. Let every German, the prince, the nobleman, the member of the general community, heartily concur in the emancipating views of the Russian and Prussian armies. Let him sacrifice in the cause of liberty, his possessions, his rank, and his life.

Their majesties, perfectly well acquainted with the present public opinion of that universal monarchy, shaken by the Russian arms, believe that they may reckon on similar sentiments and spirit in every German breast.

They ask the concurrence of all the German princes, and are much pleased to think that not a single one of these will be found, who, by continuing to betray the interests of his country, would be willing to incur that annihilation which the judgment of the public would award to him, and which the force of arms would not delay to execute.

The confederation of the Rhine, that perfidious bond in which the artful conqueror, practised in sowing dissensions to extend his domination, has so lately entangled the wrecks of German power, can no longer subsist. Those fetters, rivetted by foreign hands, must be broken. Their majesties believe they anticipate the wishes long secretly cherished in the oppressed bosom of every German, when they announce that the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine is necessarily included in their plan.

This at the same time, demonstrates the relation which His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, wishes to be established between himself and the constitution of regenerated Germany. As this sovereign desires that all foreign power over the Germans may be annihilated, his only intention is to offer them his protecting arm, in order

to effect a re-organization, which should be exclusively the work of the German princes and their subjects. The stronger the impress that the new constitution shall bear of the German character, with the greater splendour will Germany re-appear in the midst of the nations of Europe, in all the strength of regenerated youth, in all the power of united principles.

For the rest, his Majesty the Emperor, whose sentiments here manifested perfectly agree with those of his allies, jointly with them will exert his utmost efforts to deliver Germany from the foreign yoke.

May France, strong and powerful for the future, only employ herself with her internal prosperity, no Power will attempt to disturb her tranquillity from without; no hostile enterprise will be directed against her legitimate boundaries. But, let France be apprized of the immutable determination of the allied sovereigns, to gain by conquest for their subjects, a repose which may not be disturbed; and never to lay down their arms till the basis of independence be firmly established in all the states of Europe.

In the name of his majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, and of his majesty the King of Prussia,

The Prince KUTUSOFF SMOLENSKOI,

Field-marshal and General in Chief of the Allied  
Armies.

## No. XV.

*Address to the Saxons.**Berlin, March 25, 1813.*

**BRAVE SAXONS!** in what manner am I to address you? As your enemy? I am not such. You are worthy Germans, and I am come, in the name of my Emperor, to release all Germans from their shameful yoke. I will, therefore, speak to you as your friend—hear me, for I mean well to you.

It is probable that you are surprised at the sight of Russians and Prussians entering your country in arms; it is probable that you may be in dread, and uncertain what to do, your king having forsaken you, ordered you to remain quiet. But when a house is on fire, a neighbour must not stand to ask the owner's permission to quench it.

Your king's house has long been on fire; he himself is in distress, and dare not speak so as his German heart would assuredly dictate to him. For do but consider; he, a German king—he, who so long has been forced to give your energies and blood to the French, could he order you to remain quiet at a moment when inactivity is a crime!

The hour has struck that will never strike a second time—the hour of delivery from a *foreign yoke!* and your king orders you to turn a deaf ear to the sound. For forty-five years he has laboured for your felicity and your glory—now he would overwhelm you with misfortune and infamy. Could you have believed it? Was it not he who exhorted you to preserve unsullied the antient honour of Saxony? In what does that antient honour consist? Turn to your chronicles: there you will read that an ambitious man, an emperor of the Franks, Charlemagne, waged war with you for thirty years, intending to enslave you. At this period, Wittikind was your

king. Wittikind did not abandon you at the moment of danger, he did not command you to remain in repose, but led you on himself to regain your liberty. This is the antient Saxon honour which you ought to preserve inviolate. A thousand years have elapsed, and for a thousand years God has not afflicted Europe with a scourge like Charlemagne. This scourge now again exists, and shall you not fight like your forefathers, to deliver yourselves from it? You will bow your necks to the yoke. How much more easy would conquest be to you, than to your ancestors ten centuries ago. They were alone; alone they defended themselves against Charlemagne.

You are not alone: the Emperor, my master, with his whole army; the King of Prussia, with his whole army, hasten to your succour, they advance to accomplish your deliverance: under such auspices, the struggle will not continue thirty years. Are you desirous to throw off your chains, they will fall off! With the aid of God, in one year you will be free, and then every person may resign himself with honour to peaceful repose; then your demolished structures will be restored; your commerce will behold its antient channels, now closed-up, re-opened: your agriculture will again flourish: your sons will no longer be conducted to slaughter. Then will be the moment of repose, and then your king himself will express his gratitude to you. But he, who before that moment would resign himself to ease, is not a true Saxon, is not a German. He who does not declare for liberty, is against her. Choose then either the embrace of a brother, or the edge of the sword. Unite yourselves with me to regain by conquest your king and his independence, and then, if such be the will of the Almighty, for forty-five years longer your sovereign may govern you in the bosom of peace and prosperity. Do not apprehend that it is my intention to alienate your hearts from your prince:

I would reunite those bands between you, which a foreigner has divided. I wish your king to be an independent sovereign, and yourselves a free people. Up! up! and arm yourselves, were it even only with sickles, scythes, and cudgels! destroy the foreigners, drive them from your soil. You shall always find me and my Russians, with the valiant Prussians, where danger is most prominent. Already the judgments of God are manifested towards the insolent oppressor: believe me we shall conquer: the forbearance of the Deity is exhausted: victory declares for us. It is not a presumptuous pride that dictates this language: I speak this because I have confidence in God, in you, and in the justice of our cause.

COUNT DE WITTGENSTEIN.

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## No. XVI.

*Head-Quarters, March 31, 1813.*

**SAXONS!** I enter your country either to make war upon you, or to fight in conjunction with you, for your freedom and the restoration of your degraded honour. Choose!—your choice may place your crown in danger, and cause your children to blush for the conduct of their fathers! but it cannot retard the emancipation of Germany.

Look and see what passes around you! See the noble Prussians your neighbours. The whole nation has risen in mass; in their ranks the son of the ploughman is found by the side of the prince: all difference of rank is mingled together, and disappears in the great ideas of liberty, honour, king, and country. There is no other distinction but that of talents and of zeal in the great and sacred cause. Liberty or death! is the word which Frederick William has given; and

solemnly have his whole magnanimous people sworn to conquer, or fall worthy of such a prince.

Saxons,—Germans,—Our pedigrees, our family registers close with the year 1812. The deeds of our ancestors are cancelled by the humiliation of their descendants. The restoration of Germany can alone renovate the nobility of the race, and restore it to its original splendour.

COUNT WITTGENSTEIN.

## No. XVII.

[The Public are informed of the following Order of the Day.]

*Order of the Day for the 2d of April, 1813.*

If the troops of the two allied Powers should fall in with those of Saxony, they are not to fire upon them; but to treat them as allies, and to receive them with every prepossession in their favour.

The Russian Colonel,

*Commandant de Place* in these quarters,

*Dresden, April 5, 1813.*

DE HEYDECKEN.

## No. XVIII.

*Notice to the Public.*

*Dresden, April 5, 1813.*

THE inhabitants of the districts occupied by the troops of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and of His Majesty the King of Prussia, are apprized, that by superior orders, all communication is forbidden ~~them~~ with those districts

unoccupied by the allied troops. Those who shall either open or continue any intercourse with those countries, will be brought before a military commission (or court of inquiry), as guilty of disobedience to the orders of the allied armies, and tried by a court-martial.

The Russian Colonel,  
*Commandant de Place* in these quarters,  
DE HEYDECKEN.

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## No. XIX.

*April 6th, 1813.*

THEIR Majesties, the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, being desirous to restore order, combination, and uniformity, in the progress of business, have resolved to establish a council of administration for the north of Germany. This council, conformably with its instructions, will hold communication with the different governments, concerning all objects that relate to the finances, to the police, to the arming of the troops; also respecting every thing connected with the public welfare, the recruiting and maintenance of the armies which fight to restore the liberty of Germany.

All the public functionaries, and the northern inhabitants of Germany, are enjoined to obey the orders of this council of administration. Their majesties have nominated Baron Charles de Stein as temporary president of this council.

In the name of their Majesties, the Emperor of all the Russias and the King of Prussia,

The Prince KUTUSOFF SMOLENSKOI,  
Field-Marshal and General-in-Chief of the allied  
Armies.



## No. XX.

ALL those whose truly German hearts exulting, throb at the idea of the liberty and happiness of their country, and who desire to fight in the sacred ranks of their fellow-countrymen in order to ensure victory to the good cause; those also who wish to contribute, according to their means, to the arming and equipment of volunteers of small estate, are exhorted to address themselves to the undersigned. Any gift, however small, will be received with gratitude, as an offering deposited on the altar of the country. A receipt will be given, and the donors will be publicly thanked.

BARON DE BURSTINI,

Captain of cavalry in the free corps of His Majesty  
the King of Prussia.

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## No. XXI.

THE undersigned returns his sincere thanks to the honourable magistrates, and brave townsmen, of Bischofswerda, for the obliging and amicable manner in which they have received him in their town; for the generosity with which those brave Germans have contributed to the success of the good cause, by clothing six volunteers of his corps, and by furnishing a still more considerable sum for the equipment of brave young men of small estate.

BARON DE BURSTINI,

Captain of cavalry in the free corps of His Majesty  
the King of Prussia.

## No. XXII.

*Description of the Easter Festival, as it was celebrated by the Russians at Grossenhain.*

[Extract from No. 18, of the Grossenhain Journal.]

ON the 25th the Russians who arrived on the preceding evening, under command of Captain Noponowski, celebrated the Easter festival, in our town, in consequence of dispositions made by their chief for that purpose. At a quarter before six in the morning, the ringing of bells, announced the solemnity; the Russian infantry and cavalry assembled in the grand square before their captain's quarters with their arms and baggage. At six o'clock, the bells summoned the assembled crowd into the Temple of the Lord, according to the wish of the Russian commandant. A detachment of carabineers in their uniform, formed a lane in the principal church, the soldiers repaired thither; a cake and a bowl filled with red eggs were carried before, their warlike music resounded, and a crowd of the inhabitants accompanied them. When arrived in front of the church, they piled their arms and tied up their horses before the door, then conducted by the burgomaster, they entered the sacred precinct with the clangour of trumpets and cymbals. The cake was placed upon a table before the altar, and the soldiers ranged themselves about it.

The assembled parishioners sung with an accompaniment the fine Easter Anthem, "Sing hymns of Gladness," Then a piece of Church music was performed. M. Gendiner the Archdeacon took his place before the

altar, and chanted a fine prayer composed for the occasion ; he blessed the bread and the eggs : after which he sung the Anthem " Christ is risen," in the Russian language, and the choir made their responses. This solemn hymn made a deep impression upon all the Christians of the Greek church who were present. After the benediction had been pronounced on the Russians, and they had been sanctified by the holy water which was distributed, and with which every one sprinkled his face ; they quitted the church and drew up in military array in two lines before the door : the consecrated cake was carried in procession, and as it passed along, each of the fronts fired three rounds. The train repaired from the church before the residence of the commandant. There the Russian soldiers again piled their arms, and the carabineers of the town formed a circle, in the middle of which, upon a table, was placed, the consecrated cake, cut into small portions, and some eggs equally divided. The soldiers approached one by one to the fraternal feast, each advanced in his turn uncovered and carrying in his hand a red egg ; he bowed, pronouncing in the Russian language these words, *Christos woskres*, " Christ is risen ;" exchanged the red egg with his captain, who embraced him several times replying, *Is tinnoes woskres*, " Yes, truly he is risen." After this salutation, every soldier received a piece of cake and a glass of brandy. When they had all shared in this sacred feast, joy was diffused among them ; the Cossacks remounted their horses, traversing every part of the town firing off their pistols. The infantry also fired their muskets separately, and this military diversion was continued at intervals till sun-set.

## No. XXIII.

*A Return of the Military quartered at the Houses of the Citizens of Dresden, from the 26th of February, 1813, to the 31st of December, 1814.*

PERIODS.	DISTRICTS.				TOTAL.
	Old Town.	New Town.	Suburbs.	Frederickstadt.	
	Men.	Men.	Men.	Men.	
From 26th Feb. to 25th March....	117,338	67,250	43,832	8,385	236,805
From 26th March to 7th May ....	208,600	95,862	49,128	21,137	374,727
From 8th May to 14th June .....	499,149	274,709	273,832	90,513	1,088,293
From 15th June to 15th Nov. ....	1,635,275	1,270,457	1,523,595	633,344	5,062,871
From 16th Nov. to 31st Dec. ....	280,376	162,646	110,068	61,160	644,249
From 1st Jan. to 31st Dec., 1814 ..	1,346,971	463,465	724,735	177,174	2,712,345
Grand Total .....	4,087,708	2,284,479	2,725,192	991,913	10,089,292

*Office for Quarters, Dresden, January 1, 1813.*

*Dr. Frederick Christian Tittman, Director.*

*Particular Return of the Military quartered at the Houses of the Citizens of Dresden, in the course of 1814.*

Months of the Year 1814.	Generals.	Colonels.	Officers.	Commissaries.	Soldiers.	TOTAL.
January .....	243	542	15,628	3,240	300,727	415,612
February .....	222	486	12,823	3,112	271,559	365,648
March .....	304	487	11,293	3,288	240,840	329,751
April .....	169	402	6,948	2,595	84,712	144,171
May .....	102	355	7,062	2,827	116,117	170,296
June.....	315	572	10,786	3,196	139,866	226,293
July .....	425	1,120	13,505	3,340	131,065	239,605
August.....	165	660	7,743	2,387	97,188	161,687
September .....	220	686	8,575	2,419	97,650	167,610
October .....	157	556	7,018	2,165	84,097	142,150
November .....	152	514	6,661	2,410	116,134	173,729
December .....	23	348	5,365	2,017	130,914	175,683
Grand Total ....	2,497	6,734	113,407	32,996	1,810,869	2,712,245

## No. XXIV.

*Provisionary Austrian Bulletin of the Battle of Dresden.*

AFTER the junction of the Austrian army, with the allied Russian and Prussian armies on the right bank of the Elbe had been effected, and certain intelligence of Napoleon's advance towards Silesia had been obtained, the whole of the allied army debouched from Bohemia into Saxony, in order to threaten Napoleon's line of communication, and to compel him to direct a part of his army upon the left bank of the Elbe. This movement deranged his plans. It protected the Russian and Prussian combined army, and that which was advancing from the Marquisate of Brandebourg into Silesia, against very superior forces.

The entrance into Saxony was effected in four columns; that on the extreme left, advanced upon the Commotau road; that on the extreme right, upon the Pirna road. The last mentioned column made itself master of the intrenched camp of the French near Pirna on the 21st of August; a bold achievement worthy of the valour and genius of the general of cavalry, Count Wittgenstein, by whose order it was executed. The other columns surmounted every obstacle which they encountered at each step among the steep hills they had to pass over in their march. The courage and perseverance of the army, enabled the general-in-chief to make a sudden movement on his right, by means of which he was able to concentrate his forces near Dresden on the 25th.

On the morning of the 26th, the army took up their position in the neighbourhood of that city; on the same day, a supported *reconnaissance* was made, in order to ascertain the strength of the enemy near Dresden, and the extent of

the fortifications. All the troops gave unequivocal proof of the enthusiasm with which they were inspired.

Several works were carried by assault; the cannon found in them were spiked, and the French were driven back on all sides.

It was reported by the prisoners, that Napoleon had arrived a few hours before by forced marches with a part of the army, which he had caused to advance into Silesia.

The deposition of the prisoners was soon confirmed; for considerable columns, composed in part of the troops belonging to the guard, advanced with great impetuosity; they had formed in the town and their intention was to turn the position of the Allies. These *sorties* encountered a vigorous resistance on all sides, and the enemy was repulsed with loss to his entrenchments. Our army in the evening resumed the position that it had quitted in the morning.

On the 27th, in the morning, the enemy partially attempted to debouch from Dresden; he briskly attacked our centre, and sustained this attack by demonstrations against our right wing; but his efforts were unsuccessful, and the day was passed in fruitless attempts.

The principal object of the allied Armies was attained. Our offensive demonstrations had diverted the danger from those of our corps, which were separated from the main army, and which might have been overwhelmed by numbers. It would have been a most unprofitable attempt to assault Dresden, where a great part of the French army had just united. To remain longer in the inhospitable district of Erzgebirg, would have exposed the army to all the dreadful horrors of famine.

The general-in-chief therefore resolved to lead his troops back into Bohemia. This movement took place on the evening of the 27th under the eyes of the enemy, and was continued till the 28th with the greatest composure.

## No. XXV.

*Circumstantial Austrian Bulletin of the Battle of Dresden.**Head-Quarters, Altenberg, August 29th, 1813.*

WHEN it was positively known that Napoleon had concentrated the major part of his forces in Lusatia and Silesia, and that he not only menaced the corps under the command of General Blücher with that force, but also intended to penetrate into Bohemia by way of Gabel; the necessity of making an immediate movement upon the Elbe, in order to attack the French army in its rear, was perceived.

The Austrian, Russian and Prussian forces, united in Bohemia, quitted their cantonments, and traversed the district of Erzgebirg on the 22nd of August in four columns.

Although the roads were rendered almost impassable by continual rains, a very unusual circumstance at this season, the movement was effected with the greatest promptitude and regularity.

As early as the 25th, the major part of the allied army was able to assemble before Dresden. General Count Wittgenstein had encountered the enemy near Giesshubel, and had driven him with loss from his entrenched position. He had constrained him to abandon a second position below Gollemberg near Ober-Sedlitz, where the divisions of Durutte and Claparède, with a part of Bonnet's corps were stationed under command of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr. These French corps were obliged to fall back upon Dresden, hastily, and in disorder.

The 26th was employed in gaining information respecting the positions and strength of the enemy, by means of



*reconnaissances* made near their entrenchments; in the morning, General Kleist succeeded in dislodging the French from the space of ground called the great garden, situated without the suburbs: in consequence of this advantage, the town was approached on several points.

Before the barrier of Freyberg was a *flèche*, defended by four pieces of cannon, which were afterwards dismounted by the Austrian artillery. Field-Marshal Lieutenant Count Colloredo with his wonted intrepidity carried an outwork by assault, and a similar work near the barrier of Dippoldiswalde, in spite of the enemy's most vigorous resistance. The pieces of cannon found therein, as well as six others also captured by Count Colloredo, were for the greater part spiked. This general lost three horses in the attack, and Lieutenant-colonel Schneider who rushed like a hero through a shower of balls, at the head of the second battalion of chasseurs received two wounds. The enemy had in the mean-time, made a sortie on our left wing, where a most courageous resistance was made by the divisions of Weissenwolf and Metzko, who carried Löbtau by main force, and maintained their advantage notwithstanding the most furious attacks of the French. The obstinacy of the engagement and vigour of the cannonade, were only redoubled by this resistance. Several houses in the suburbs of Dresden, were consumed by the flames.

During the battle, we learned that Napoleon with his guard had arrived at Dresden, and considerable masses of troops were seen defiling along the roads leading to that town. We concluded from this, that the French had evacuated Silesia, and that the principal object of our enterprise was attained. It would have been rashness to assault a city defended by ramparts, ditches, and a numerous army; to have reduced without an object that unfortunate capital to ashes, would have been a piece of cruelty; we therefore caused

our forces to withdraw to the heights near the city, and they resumed their former position.

On the 27th, the enemy deployed considerable masses against our left wing, which notwithstanding the courageous resistance made by the divisions of Bianchi and Creneville, were already beginning to lose ground, when the arrival of Aloys-Lichtenstein's division renewed the engagement. The regiments of the Arch-duke Raynier and Luzignan, yielding to their ardour, advanced too forward and experienced considerable loss. They were surrounded by three regiments of the enemy's cavalry, and as the rain prevented them from firing, they were only able to defend themselves with the bayonet. The enemy supported by a formidable artillery, vainly essayed with the same arm to penetrate our centre, and drive back our right wing; all his efforts were frustrated by the bravery of our troops. General Count Wittgenstein charged the French cavalry several times, and repulsed it at every charge.

Towards the evening, we were informed that the enemy had considerable columns near Pirna. Already General Ostermann, charged with the blockade of Kœnigstein, had reported, that many troops were passing the Elbe over the bridge near that fortress; this movement upon our flank joined to the impossibility of subsisting much longer in the district of Erzgebirg, where there were no resources, constrained us to make a movement on the side of Bohemia. The end of our offensive demonstration was attained. The armies of General Blucher and the Crown Prince of Sweden, had obtained the power of advancing, and acting vigorously upon the flanks, and rear of the enemy. We therefore began our march for Bohemia, on the night of the 27th. The roads, rendered almost impracticable by the rain, opposed innumerable obstacles to the movements of our troops.

We deplore the loss of the valiant General Andreossy and of the Russian General Milesino, who fell in these engagements. The *feld zeug miester* Count Giulay and the generals of artillery, Mariassy and Frierenberger; were wounded, Generals Metzko and Seezeny have disappeared.

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## No. XXVI.

*Russian Bulletin, of the Battle of Dresden.*

[Supplement of the Petersburg Gazette, 14th September.]

*Head-Quarters at Toplitz, August 31st, 1813.*

The chief design of the movement made by the allied army to advance into Saxony from Bohemia, was to draw the principal force of the enemy from Silesia into Saxony; after the Allies had posted a sufficient number of troops on the roads leading to Chemnitz and Leipsic; by these measures the Crown Prince, who was near Brandebourg, and General Blucher, who had been left in Silesia, would be more easily enabled to beat the corps stationed in their front.

After the arrival of the principal army before Dresden, a strong *reconnaissance* was ordered to be made towards the city, in order that the enemy should not be ignorant of our intention to attack him in the rear. This *reconnaissance* was effected on the 26th with the greatest success, and on that occasion the corps of Count Wittgenstein captured four pieces of the enemy's cannon. In the evening the enemy 80,000 strong issued out from the city, and drew up in order of battle, under the protection of the batteries of the town. We were informed by the prisoners that Napoleon with the whole of his guard, and the reserve of Latour-Maubourg's cuirassiers had arrived that day in the city, to reinforce Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr. On the following day, the enemy attacked our positions on several points, but was

every where repulsed. In the evening, the French guard attacked our right flank, but was driven back by the hussars of Grodno, and by a regiment of Prussian hussars; about 500 prisoners were captured. On the approach of night, the enemy retreated within the walls of Dresden. Field-marshal the Prince of Schwartzenberg having received information that Vandamme's and Victor's corps\* had passed the Elbe near Kœnigstein, and threatened the road of Tœplitz, deemed it necessary to make a movement on the right flank with the whole army, to take up a position in rear of the passes which separate Saxony from Bohemia, and there await the enemy in his passage through the defiles.

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## NO. XXVII.

OFFICIAL despatches from Lieutenant General, the Honourable Sir Charles Stewart, K. B., Envoy extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the King of Great Britain, to his Majesty the King of Prussia, addressed to Viscount Castlereagh principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

*Head-Quarters of his Majesty the King of  
Prussia, Zehista, August 27, 1813.*

MY LORD,

My last despatches will have acquainted your Lordship of the determination of the Allied Armies to debouch from Bohemia, by the several passes into Saxony, and enter on immediate offensive operations in flank and rear of the enemy, if he still maintained his forward positions in Lusatia, and remained on the right bank of the Elbe. While the main Russian army, under General Barclay de Tolly,

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\* This is untrue, the two corps in question were in the battle.

including the corps of Wittgenstein and Milaradovitch, and the Prussian corps of General Kleist, together with the whole of the Austrian army, were to act offensively from Bohemia, under the chief command of Prince Schwartzberg, General Blucher's *corps d'armée*, composed of a division of Prussians under Lieutenant-General d'Yorck, and General Sacken's and General Langeron's Russian divisions, were to move from Silesia on Lusatia, and threaten the enemy in front. General Blucher was to avoid engaging in any general action, especially against superior numbers. In conformity with these intentions, General Blucher advanced in three columns on the 20th from Leignitz, Goldberg, and Jauer, on Buntzlau and Lowenberg; General Sacken's corps moved on the right on Buntzlau, and General d'Yorck's on the centre, and General Langeron's on the left. The enemy abandoned Buntzlau, destroyed their works, and blew up a magazine of powder there; and General Blucher's force advanced to the Bober, where they were attacked on the 21st by the enemy, who moved in great force on Buntzlau, Lowenberg, and Laun, and a very serious affair took place. It is reported Buonaparte commanded in person, and that he presented one hundred and ten thousand men to General Blucher. The allied troops contested the ground with great bravery; but as General Blucher had received orders to avoid a general engagement, he withdrew in the best order to Haynau, Pilgramsdorf, Hirschberg, and behind the Katzbach; where his troops were at the date of the last accounts. The loss of General Blucher in this affair is reported to be near two thousand men; he took, however, several prisoners. The enemy suffered considerably.

The grand Armies on the side of Bohemia commenced passing the frontiers on the 20th and 21st; Count Wittgenstein's and General Kleist's columns, by the passes of

Peterswalde; the Austrians by Commotau. On the 22nd, Count Wittgenstein's corps fell in with the enemy, and had a very considerable encounter with them near Berghshubel and Zehista.

The enemy met the Allies on the frontiers, and have been beaten back from all their positions, towards Dresden although they endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to defend every inch of ground.

The different columns of the Allied Armies were to debouch from the mountains and passes, at such concerted periods as would probably have operated fatally upon the enemy, if the arrangement, as planned, had been completely carried into effect; but the eagerness of the troops to push on and engage, brought the right corps into action on the morning of the 22nd. The French were commanded by General Gouvion St. Cyr (who is newly arrived, and come up with the army from Wurtzburg), and their force consisted of upwards of 15,000 men; they were supported by their troops from Koenigstein, and by those in the camp at Lilienstein, which amounted at least to 6,000 men, under General Bonnet. After a very sharp action, Count Wittgenstein drove the enemy from all points, took three or four hundred prisoners, besides a vast number of killed and wounded. The loss of the Allies was not severe.

The enemy after this action retired into Koenigstein, his entrenched camp at Lilienstein, and also into the various works he has thrown up round Dresden. The Allies have pressed forward on him on every side, and the Grand Armies are now encircling Dresden.

On the 26th, the hussar regiment of Grodno, of Count Wittgenstein's corps, had a very brisk engagement, close to Dresden, in which they took four guns and one howitzer. The advanced guards of the Russians, Prussians, and Aug-

trians, encamped this night on the heights above Dresden, between Nauslitz and Ischernitz.

On the 27th in the morning, the enemy abandoned the ground in advance of Dresden which they occupied, called the Grossen Garten, and withdrew into the suburbs and their different works.

I have thus given your Lordship a general outline of operations up to this period ; every hour is big with events. No official reports are made out, so I fear my details in many points may be imperfect. Perhaps the history of war does not afford a period where two great armies stand committed to such bold operations.

I have much pleasure in reporting to your Lordship, that two Westphalian regiments of Hussars, commanded by Colonel Hammerstein, have come over from the enemy, and are most eager to be ranged in battle against them, to take their revenge for the misery they have entailed upon this country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-General.

*Head-quarters of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, Altenberg, Aug. 29.*

MY LORD,

The enemy having abandoned the ground surrounding Dresden, called the Grossen Garten, and having withdrawn into their works, and into the suburbs of the town, on the morning of the 27th, it was deemed expedient to make an attack with a large force upon the place, the possession of which became of considerable importance. Count Wittgenstein's and General Kleist's light troops, on the right of the town, had sustained, during the morning of the 27th, in the attack of the Gardens, some loss ; and indeed the enemy

had so much improved by art the defences around the town, that it was evidently an enterprise of considerable difficulty to carry it.

The troops moved to the assault at four o'clock in the evening; Count Wittgenstein's corps, in three columns on the right of the Grossen Garten: General Kleist moved one column of attack through these Gardens, and two on the left. His left column was headed by Prince Augustus of Prussia: three divisions of Austrians on the left of the town, under the immediate direction of Count Colloredo, and Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein, joined the Prussians on their left; the Prussians forming the centre attack. A tremendous cannonade commenced the operation; the batteries being planted in a circular form round the town, the effect was magnificent; the fine buildings in Dresden were soon enveloped in smoke, and the troops moved forward in the most perfect order to the assault. They approached on all sides close to the town. The Austrians took an advanced redoubt with eight guns, in the most undaunted and gallant manner; I never saw troops behave more conspicuously: the work was of the strongest kind, not above sixty yards from the main wall, and it was flanked by cross-fires of musketry from the various loop holes that were made in every part of projecting buildings; but nothing could surpass the gallantry with which it was stormed; the enemy fled from it only to shelter themselves behind new defences, manning the thick walls of the town, in which it was impossible, without a long and continued fire of heavy artillery, to make breaches\*.

The enemy, with the aid of those means which a strong

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\* Sir Charles Stewart appears to allude to the wall that surrounds the suburbs, which it is merely an enclosure for the gardens, neither thick nor strong.



own affords of resistance, held the troops in check who had so gallantly carried and entered the outworks. The night was fast approaching, and the enemy now attempted to make a sortie with a considerable force of all his guards, at least amounting to thirty thousand, to separate the allied troops, and to take one wing in flank and rear. This was immediately perceived, and as it appeared evident that it was not practicable to carry the place that night, orders were sent to draw off the troops, and they returned to their several encampments. Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein made an admirable disposition on the side where the enemy made their sortie, by which all disorder was avoided. This enterprise, in proportion to its being of moment, was one of great difficulty: no troops could signalize themselves more; and in my humble opinion, if it had been physically possible to carry the place under the circumstances, they would have accomplished it: but there were no breaches for the troops to enter, and the artillery, although brought up at the close of the evening to near one hundred paces of the wall, were not able to batter it, or make an impression.

From the best calculation I can make, I should estimate the loss of the Allies at under 4,000 men in this attack. The Austrians chiefly suffered.

The sortie of the enemy was a prelude to a more general battle, which took place on the following morning, the 28th. Buonaparte had arrived in Dresden, from that part of his army in Lusana, on the night of the 22nd; and having a very large force in Dresden, at least 130,000 men, he appears to have determined on attacking the Allies, who occupied a very extended position on the heights surrounding it.

The enemy had great advantages in their disposition for attack: Dresden, lined with guns, was in their rear; their

communications were not intersected ; if they made an impression, they could pursue it ; if they failed, they could withdraw in security, and our troops could not follow them under the guns of the place. One of the worst days that ever was seen added materially to the difficulties of the Allies, who had arrived, by rapid marches, through bad roads and defiles, at their positions ; and whose supplies of every kind, it was difficult, if not impossible, to get up. Availing himself of the disadvantages above stated, Buonaparte displayed an immense number of pieces of artillery ; and heavy cannonading on both sides formed the chief feature of the battle. Charges in various points were made, both with the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian cavalry, and they distinguished themselves highly ; but the main bodies of the infantry, in both armies, did not come in contact. The weather was so hazy, and the rain so incessant, that the action was sustained, at all points, under the heaviest disadvantages.

Towards the middle of the day a catastrophe occurred which awakened more than ordinary sensibility and regret throughout the allied army. General Moreau, in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia on the operations, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, the ball going through his horse : an equal loss both to the good cause, and to the profession of arms. It is impossible not deeply to lament his fate. He is still alive\*.

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\* As far as the author can learn, the news that was spread at the time, asserting that Moreau was wounded on the 26th, was derived from the French bulletins, in which it is said that he was mortally wounded by the first cannon shot fired from the redoubts before the city. This account passed into the German papers, and it was added that Moreau was wounded before the redoubt near the Mockzinski garden. An Austrian journal, and a life of that illustrious general which appeared some time since, says also that he was wounded on the 26th. But the testimony of General Stewart is decisive, and his relation is confirmed by

The enemy continued his efforts on the position of the Allies, till finding he could make no impression, the action ceased.

The battle may have cost us six or seven thousand men. The enemy must have suffered more. In one charge of Russian cavalry against infantry and a battery, a great number of prisoners were taken, though the guns were not brought off.

I have already detailed to your Lordship the general difficulties in which the Allied Army was placed by the large force opposed to them, and by the opinion that Buonaparte would pass a considerable body of troops across the Elbe at Koenigstein and Pirna, to possess himself of the passes in our rear. The orders for retiring were issued to the Allied Army, on the evening of the 28th, and the army is now in march in different columns.

It is impossible not to lament that so fine and so numerous

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by an inhabitant of the village of Rœcknitz, who relates, that Moreau was on the *rainy day* of the battle, on horseback by the side of the Emperor of Russia, upon a height, directly behind the village of Rœcknitz, not far from the house of the witness when he was struck by a cannon ball, probably fired from a field battery. The surgeon of the Emperor Alexander, as I am well informed, also mentions the 27th as the day on which he attended the unfortunate general. By other details it is known that the amputation was performed on the day he received the wound. The amputated limbs were interred in the garden of the domain of Næthnitz, but in 1814 they were dug up, deposited in an urn, and on the 4th of November placed with solemnity in the monument erected to Moreau, on the very spot where he was wounded; A description of the ceremony that took place on this occasion, with a portrait of this illustrious general, and various details, derived from authentic sources, concerning the latter years of his life, may be found in a pamphlet, entitled, *F. Thr. A. Hassé, Johann, Victor Moreau und seine todtenfeier.* Dresden in der Arnoldischen buchhandlung, 1816, in 8vo.

an army, perfectly entire in all its parts, should be under the necessity, having once advanced, of making a retrograde step, as miscalculations may be made on the event, and the enemy may suppose he has gained an advantage. I can only pledge myself to your Lordship, that the army is as eager as ever to meet the enemy, and the same determined spirit exists, though a partial change of operations may be deemed necessary.

The enemy's force was not diminished on the side of Lusatia up to the 23rd, for his efforts on the Elbe, as he attacked General Blucher again in great force on that day, who retired upon Jauer. On the 24th, however, he advanced again, the enemy having fallen back, which would indicate his bringing more forces into Bohemia. The Austrian corps of General Neuberg, has also advanced in the direction of Zittau.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.

*Tœplitz, August 30, 1813.*

MY LORD,

Since my despatch of yesterday's date, I have to acquaint your Lordship, that a very brilliant action has taken place this day on the road from Tœplitz, towards Peterswalde, about two German miles from the former place. It appears that the Russian column, under Count Ostermann, which was to retire by the pass of Osterwalde, found the enemy, who had actually crossed the Elbe at Pirna and Koenigstein, had possession of the pass in the mountains, and they were obliged most gallantly to force their way through with the bayonet. They then remained in action with the enemy till late in the evening; and having been reinforced by the reserves of the Russian guards, cavalry

and infantry, the former under his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine, who were sent rapidly to their support, this body of troops, consisting of about 800 men, held in check, during the day, two corps of one division of the French army, under Generals Vandamme and Bertrand, amounting at least to 30,000 men. I should do his Imperial Majesty's Guards injustice if I attempted to describe the admiration I felt at their valour and signal bravery. The light cavalry of the guard, consisting of the Polish and dragoon regiments, charged columns of infantry in the highest style. General Diebzetsch, an officer of great merit, particularly distinguished himself; Prince Galitzin in like manner. He was wounded in the attack. Count Ostermann, towards the close of the day, had his arm carried off by a cannon shot; the General commanding the cuirassiers of St. George was also wounded.

The importance of the bravery displayed by these troops is highly augmented, when it is considered, that had they not held their ground, the columns of the army and artillery retiring by Altenberg, which were delayed by the bad roads, must have been greatly endangered.

His Prussian Majesty was at Tœplitz when the enemy made their rapid advance by Peterswalde, and made the most able dispositions to reinforce Count Ostermann, and by his coolness and personal exertions, preserved order and regularity, which even the momentary idea of the enemy's getting in the rear is apt to endanger. The admirable conduct of this Sovereign on all occasions is the theme of universal praise. The corps of Count Ostermann lost 3,000 men in this day's action *hors de combat*.

The French loss may be averaged at double. General Vandamme's corps suffered immensely. The cavalry of the Russian guard took two standards and three or four hundred prisoners.

The enemy followed our rear-guard during the day, on the Dippoldiswalde road, and they met with a considerable check from the rear-guard, commanded by the Austrian General Hardigg.

I hope your Lordship will excuse the hurry with which this is written, and will make allowances, as the period and continued movements and operations prevent much accuracy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART, Lt.-Gen.

*Tœplitz, August 31, 1813.*

MY LORD,

The brilliant and well-contested action of the 30th ult., in which the Prussian Guards covered themselves with glory, has been followed up by a very general and decisive victory over that part of the enemy's army which had advanced from Kœnigstein and Pirna, on the great *chaussee*, leading from Peterswalde to Tœplitz. It became of the utmost importance to make this attack, not only to give time for those columns of the army to fall back, which were still retiring upon the Altenberg and Dippoldiswalde road, but at the same time to extricate the corps under General Kleist, which had not disengaged itself from the mountains.

The enemy had the advantage, in pushing rapidly forward upon our right flank, of a good line of road; whereas the columns of the Allied Army although retiring by shorter lines, were impeded, not only by the unfavourable state of the weather, but by almost impassable roads.

A great proportion of the artillery, train, and baggage of the Allied Army had not yet got clear of the mountains, when the enemy had arrived at Hollendorf and Cûlm, about three German miles distant from Tœplitz, the scene where the action took place.

The attack being determined upon, the following disposition of the troops, destined for that purpose, was immediately made:—Six thousand Russian grenadiers, two thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, under the immediate orders of General Miloradovitch, together with twelve thousand Austrians, under Count Coloredo and General Bianchi, commenced the action; the remainder of the troops collected for this enterprise being formed in columns of reserve upon the adjacent plain.

The village of Culm is situated at the bottom of a range of mountains which forms an almost impregnable barrier between Saxony and Bohemia; from this point branches off two distinct ranges of mountains, east and west; between these ranges the ground is generally flat, affording, however, in some places good defensible positions. Upon this ground immediately fronting the village of Culm, the enemy collected a strong force of infantry, with a great portion of artillery; a galling fire was kept up incessantly from this point upon the Russians, under General Miloradovitch.

Such was the strength of the adjacent heights of Culm, and so ably had the enemy disposed of their force for its defence, that it was judged more expedient to make the principal attack by the right; in consequence of which the Austrian infantry were directed to move along the high ground upon the right, while the Russian guards and infantry were to commence their attack upon the left, as soon as the Austrians were sufficiently advanced. While these movements were executing, the corps of General Kleist, which had not been disengaged from the mountains, appeared in the enemy's rear, descending the road by which the enemy were to retire in case of need. On all sides the attack commenced in the most vigorous and decisive manner. The enemy's left were turned by the distinguished bravery and good conduct of the Austrians under Count Coloredo, the

cavalry charging repeatedly ; while upon the other flank General Miloradovitch, with the hussars of the guards and grenadiers, forced every point which the enemy in vain attempted to defend. Upon this point above forty pieces of artillery and sixty tumbrils, much baggage, and the whole equipage of General Vandamme, fell into the hands of the Russians. Completely beaten in front at all points, and intercepted in their rear by General Kleist, nothing was left for the enemy but a desperate and precipitate retreat.

The rout now became general, the enemy throwing down their arms in every direction, and ceasing even to resist, abandoning guns and standards, to seek for shelter in the woods.

The fruits of this victory are considerable. The General commanding, Vandamme, six other General Officers, of whom are Generals Giott, Hachton, Himberg, and Prince Reuss ; sixty pieces of artillery, and about ten thousand prisoners, with six standards.

The whole of General Vandamme's staff, and many officers of rank, are also among the prisoners.

The enemy continue their retreat, closely pursued by the Cossacks and allied cavalry.

Having received a severe contusion by the explosion of a shell shortly after the commencement of the action, I was under the necessity of quitting the field of battle ; and am, therefore, indebted for the latter details which I have given your Lordship, to Colonel Cooke, Aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, who upon this, as upon every other occasion since he has been attached to me, has afforded me great assistance.

I have now the pleasing task of calling your Lordship's attention to another most brilliant contest, which has terminated highly to the honour and advantage of the Allied Army.



It would appear that on the 25th, Marshal Macdonald had occupied a very strong position in the neighbourhood of Jauer in Silesia, which he had strengthened with a numerous and formidable artillery. He was, however, attacked by General Blucher upon the morning of the 26th, and after a very sharp contest, driven from every part of his position, leaving upon the ground fifty pieces of artillery, thirty-nine tumbrils, and ammunition waggons, with a number of prisoners, exceeding ten thousand men.

The contest was renewed with fresh vigour, and with equal success on the part of General Blucher, the whole of the 27th and 28th, of which the result appears to be, that thirty pieces of cannon, and five thousand more prisoners, have been taken during the last two days.

According to the latest intelligences, General Blucher continued the pursuit with the utmost celerity.

General Prince Reuss, whom I named to your Lordship as among the prisoners taken in the very brilliant affair of yesterday, is dead of his wounds.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lt.-Gen.

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## No. XXVIII.

*The Crown Prince of Sweden to the Saxons.**Head-quarters, Juterbock,**September 10, 1813.***SAXONS!**

The united army of the north of Germany has passed your frontiers. That army does not wage war with the inhabitants of your provinces, it only directs its arms against your oppressors. You should offer up prayers for the success of our enterprises, for their aim is to restore your property and restore to your government its ancient splendour and independence.

We intend to treat all the Saxons as our friends. Your possessions will be respected, the army will observe the most rigid discipline, and their necessities will be supplied in the manner the least burthensome. Do not forsake your dwellings; continue to pursue your customary occupations; great events will soon shelter you from an ambitious policy; shew yourselves worthy sons of the antient Saxons, and if you shed the German blood that flows in your veins, shed it for the liberty of Germany, and not for a single man, to whom no tie, no common interest attaches you.

France is a vast and flourishing country, a conqueror of past ages was contented with such an empire. The French themselves wish to return into the boundaries which nature has assigned them. Even while they serve the tyrant, they hate the tyranny. Tell them boldly that your desire is to be free, and they will themselves admire and encourage you to persevere in this generous wish.

**CHARLES JOHN.**

## No. XXIX.

*To the Saxons.**Freyberg, Sept. 26, (Oct. 8,) 1813.*

SAXONS,—the moment is arrived when your deliverance from the French yoke is at hand. The victorious arms of my powerful and merciful Sovereign, and those of the Allies have repelled, on all points, with immense loss, the oppressor of German independence. The period of that diastrous flight, by which Buonaparte escaped us last year, is again renewed. You will recover your prosperity, and all Germany will be restored to freedom. The French troops are in full retreat, they are flying towards their own frontiers. You have no longer to fear the violent measures which united you to the interests of Napoleon. Shew yourselves the worthy descendants of the antient Saxons, stretch forth your hand to your brothers; unite yourselves to them, to humble the man who has loaded the German nation with outrage. Saxons, you may regard us with every confidence as your friends and liberators; for the Allied Sovereigns have imposed upon their generals an obligation to respect the property of the inhabitants, and to alleviate as much as possible the miseries of the war.

BARON DE KNORRING,  
General of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia,  
Knight of the different Russian orders,

## No. XXX.

*Dresden, September 26, 1813.***SOLDIERS!**

During a reign of forty-five years I have always had occasion to applaud the fidelity and good behaviour of my troops; but during the six months that have just elapsed, I have been subjected to the most bitter trials. Some soldiers have singly quitted my army without my permission and against my will. Major Bunau also has lately deserted the post confided to him with his battalion, and has led over to the ranks of the enemy the men whom he commanded. A court-martial will pronounce sentence against the guilty, and their own hearts will condemn them. The remembrance of their Sovereign's paternal solicitude will be their executioner in the moments of reflection.

Soldiers, who now march under my standards; you who are invested with rank, to which my confidence has raised you, it is to you that I address myself, with that love of which I have given so many proofs for nearly half a century, both to your fathers and yourselves, and with that authoritative tone which my duties as a sovereign direct me to assume. I now demand from you at this moment proofs of your attachment. You have sworn fidelity to my person and my cause. You owe me your faith, your love, your obedience. If you fail in your duty, you become traitors towards me, and you violate an engagement which ought to be held sacred by every honourable man: I therefore expect from you, faithful warriors, who now surround me, that you will not desert your King and your banners. A sentiment of duty will exalt you above every motive which might cause you to waver.

The major part of you were yet unborn when I assumed

the reins of government. My age alone would give me, over you, the rights of a father. It is to the heart alone of his children that your father would speak. I depend upon you; you would not embitter the latter days of your Sovereign. Up to this moment, Europe is my witness, that the love of my people has been my pride; let it still cheer the few moments which are left me.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

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No. XXXI.

*Dresden, Sept. 27th, 1813.*

*We, Frederick Augustus, by the Grace of God, King of Saxony, &c.*

SEVERAL generals of the enemy, among whom are some whom circumstances have connected with the throne, and to whom the duties of a subject ought to be sacred, have lately endeavoured in the most urgent manner to mislead our subjects by proclamations which they have circulated, and to engage them to take arms against the cause which their Sovereign has espoused.

We are not at all apprehensive that such indiscreet provocations should produce any effect upon the mass of our people. The Saxons, in all ages, have been faithful and devoted to their Sovereign. During the whole course of our reign, we have ever had to congratulate ourselves upon the confidence which our subjects have testified in every measure we have taken for their welfare. During the storms of later years they have given more than one proof of their love. They cannot wish to sully a reputation for fidelity towards their Prince, so glorious and so justly acquired, a reputation

which has rendered them respectable in the eyes of our friends and our enemies.

But some individuals suffered themselves to be induced by illusive hopes to criminal steps which, in the end, will be punished by bitter repentance.

We remind those persons that the duty of a subject is fidelity to his Sovereign, and obedience to the decisions and measures that he prescribes; that nothing can exonerate him from this duty, enjoined by the most sacred of all laws. We remind them that they are irrevocably subjected to us by their birth, by their residence in our provinces, and by the oaths they have sworn. The course of duty is that of true honour. The true patriot never wanders from the path of good order; he invariably respects those laws which assign to every man his station in society. As for those who may not be fortified against rash steps, by these admonitions, we declare that we will punish with inflexible severity whoever may favour the plans and designs of the enemy, or may take the smallest part in his enterprises; we will pursue with the utmost rigour of the law, those rebels, those traitors to their country.

May our people in the present days of misfortune give new proofs of that spirit of good order, which has constantly animated them till this moment. May they continue unshaken in the confidence they have always reposed in their King, whose only aim has been the happiness of the subjects whom God has confided to him; he is acquainted with the calamities under which they groan. Providence, who has shed so many blessings on the first years of our reign, and who has already suffered us to enjoy the sweet consolation of beholding our country which had been desolated by merciless war, revive more flourishing than ever, is able to bring back peaceful days, when released from every other care we may, in our paternal

solicitude, have only to watch over the happiness of our subjects, and to labour jointly with them to heal by degrees the deep wounds that inevitable wars have inflicted.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

(L. S.) John William de Zeschaw.

Charles Augustus de Zezschwitz.

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No. XXXI.

*Extracts from an official Report issued from the Headquarters at Francfort, dated, November 13th, 1813.*

ON the 6th of November 1813, Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr made a sortie from Dresden, to open himself a passage on the Torgau road. He first repulsed the advanced guard of Field-marshal Lieutenant de Wied Runkel, who commanded the blockade of Dresden upon the right bank of the Elbe, to the heights of Reichenberg and Wainsdorf; but with such vigour, that after an obstinate combat, he obliged him to return into the city. The enemy lost nearly 800 men, killed and wounded in the sortie. The Russian militia covered themselves with glory in this action, in which they fought with the courage and constancy of veteran soldiers.

## No. XXXII.

*Extract of an official Report from Head-quarters at Francfort, dated November 13th, 1813.*

ON the 8th of November, Colonel Marion of the engineers, and Colonel Perin, an adjutant of General Count Lobau, appeared at the advanced posts of the besieging corps, in order to propose a capitulation on the part of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr; but the *feld-zeugmeister* Count Klenau did not accept it, because a free passage for the garrison into France was demanded.

In the afternoon, the *feld-zeugmeister* Count Klenau received the subjoined letter, marked A, from the representatives of the city.

The general commandant sent an intimation to those members of the Royal Family then resident at Dresden, that they might retire from the city if they thought fit. He was constrained to abandon the city to its melancholy fate; its situation is painted in the subjoined letter in the most melancholy colours.

There is no German who does not deplore the fate of one of the finest cities of Germany, of a capital which was hitherto the peaceful and flourishing seat of the arts, and which enclosed in its bosom so many precious treasures.

But Germans have not occasioned the calamities under which she has groaned for so many years, and to this moment she is still entirely in the hands of the enemy.



(A)

*Dresden, November 8th, 1813.*

Being charged by the country, the circle and the city of Dresden to make respectful representations, tending to the safety of the capital and to the alleviation of the calamities which it endures, we repose our hope and confidence in the generosity of the allied Sovereigns and their generals.

The aim of these magnanimous Sovereigns is not to make conquests, but to confirm the happiness of cities and the population at large, to revive their commerce, to restore their opulence, to tie the sacred hands of reciprocal confidence, the foundation of every durable union. They will pay respect to motives to which the interests of the municipal government has alone given birth, and which are derived from sentiments of humanity. We raise our voice in favour of the capital of a country, ravaged by war in an unexampled manner, of a city which has endured unheard of miseries, and which is on the eve of utter ruin; if God does not soften in her favour the hearts of those, to whose hands he has consigned her fate.

The disastrous consequences resulting from the continuation of the blockade, will not affect the French army, which possesses still a considerable store of provisions, and which is on the point of seizing the small quantity we still have left us, but upon the inhabitants of the city; malignant nervous fevers spread themselves among the families, and bad nourishment renders them still more dangerous. Our last resources are drained, and we are threatened with more rigorous measures.

In a short time, the depopulation of the capital will diffuse mourning over a country, the inhabitants of which hoped to be restored to a happier state.

The capital is the heart which vivifies the whole country, when the sources of life are dried up the whole body languishes.

The members of the Royal Family, who are within our walls, participate in the calamities we endure; they are also exposed to the contagion.

The circle, long exhausted by the armies, will soon be unable longer to supply the exigencies arising from the presence of the besieging troops, in spite of the order established in the requisitions.

We have reason to believe, that the French commandants-in-chief will not be averse to sign an honourable capitulation, but we are incapable of determining of what nature it may be. We believe we may flatter ourselves that the moderation which the presence of the Royal Family inspires, the misfortunes of the country, of the circle and of the city, will contribute to the happy issue of the negotiations; that we shall not see the town, and all its resources, annihilated before its surrender, and that the dazzling lustre of military success will not be preferred to the welfare of the city and its inhabitants.

HENRY VICTOR AUGUSTUS BARON DE FERBER.

JOHN FREDERIC DE ZEZSCHWITZ.

DOCTOR JOHN AUGUSTUS BECK.

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## No. XXXIII.

### *Notice from the Municipal Council of Dresden.*

It has been officially communicated to us, that a convention has been concluded between Marshal Count Gouvion St. Cyr, and his Excellency Count Klenau, general of cavalry in the Austrian service; according to the tenour of which the city will be surrendered to the troops of the Allied Powers, and the French troops will quit it in separate

columns. We delay not to acquaint the inhabitants of this city with the circumstance; at the same time we exhort them to tranquillity, and engage them, on this occasion, to give another proof of the same spirit by which they have honourably distinguished themselves during the unfortunate situation in which we have lately, for some months, been placed.

The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of DRESDEN.

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### XXXIV.

#### *Capitulation of the city of Dresden.*

Article 1st. The garrison of Dresden will evacuate the city with their arms and baggage. The soldiers will ground their arms before the redoubts, the officers will retain their swords. After the example of the capitulation granted at Mantua to Field-marshal Count Wurmser, a battalion of 600 men will retain their arms, two pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, waggons and horses: twenty-five *gendarmes* of the guard will retain their arms and horses: twenty-five *gendarmes* attached to the divisions will also retain their arms and horses.

2nd. All the prisoners of war of the Allied Powers who are actually in Dresden, will be restored to liberty immediately after the capitulation shall be signed. They are considered as exchanged.

3rd. The garrison of Dresden are prisoners of war, and will be conducted into France. Marshal Count Gouvion St. Cyr pledges himself that neither the soldiers nor the officers shall fight against any of the Allied Powers at war with France, before they shall have been exchanged.

A list shall be expeditiously made out, containing the

names of the generals, officers, sub-officers and soldiers. The generals and officers shall sign with their own hand, a promise not to serve before they are formally exchanged. The list of the soldiers shall contain the names of all those who are in arms at the moment of the signature of the capitulation. A list of the sick and wounded shall also be made out.

4th. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, engages immediately to forward the exchange of the garrison for an equal number of prisoners of the Allied Power rank for rank.

5th. As soon as a return of a certain number of the prisoners of the allied powers shall be made, an equal number of the garrison of Dresden may return to actual service.

6th. The garrison shall evacuate Dresden in six columns, each of which shall comprehend a sixth of the total number. The men shall receive their provisions at the magazines, and according to the Austrian regulation; the rations, the days for marching and for halting, are fixed agreeably to a plan approved by General Count Klenau. The first column will set out on the 12th of November, and the rest will follow by the same road at the interval of a day's march.

*Gendarmes* on horseback will accompany every column to maintain order.

7th. The sick and wounded shall be treated in the same manner as those of the Allied Powers. After their cure they shall be sent back to France upon the same conditions as the garrison, the officers of health and the inspectors of the hospitals necessary to attend the sick and wounded shall remain behind, and will be treated in the same manner as those of the Allied Powers.

8th. The Polish or other allied troops, sent into France, considered as Frenchmen.

9th. The non-combatants shall not be considered as prisoners, they will follow the march of the troops.

10th. The French, who are actually in Dresden without being employed in the army, are free to follow the troops ; nevertheless, without having a right to lodging or food.

They may dispose of their acknowledged property as they will.

11th. Passports for their country will be forwarded to the French functionaries, and those of the Powers in alliance with France.

12th. Twenty-four hours after the signature of the present capitulation, the military chests, warlike stores, cannon, and all which relates to the artillery, and the fortifications of the bridges and their appurtenances, waggons, tumbrils, &c. ; with the draught horses, will be delivered to the besieging army of the Allied Powers. This surrender will be made into the hands of a commissary, nominated by the general commanding the besieging army, to whom a list of the articles is to be presented.

13th. The day after the signature of the capitulation, half of the redoubts and of the barriers of the suburbs upon both banks, also two gates of the old town, and one of the new, shall be occupied by the allied troops of the besieging army.

14th. The generals and officers will retain the baggage and horses which belong to them according to the French regulations ; on the road forage will be delivered to them.

The fortress of Sonnenstein will be surrendered six hours after the signature of the present capitulation ; and on the same conditions the garrison is to return to Dresden, where it will unite with its division.

Revised and concluded on the one part by Colonel Baron Rothkirely and Murawiew, chief of the staff of the corps d'armée of the united Russian and Prussian armies nominated on this occasion by his Excellency Count Tolstoi, General of Cavalry, and on the other by Messieurs Marion,

Colonel of the engineers, and Perin, Adjutant-commandant to M. le Comte de Lobau, nominated for the present purpose by Count Gouvion Saint Cyr, and invested by him with the necessary authority.

BARON de ROTHKIRELY, Colonel and Chief of the Staff in the 4th division.

COLONEL MURAWIEW.

*Herzogswalde, November 11, 1813.*

The above articles shall be signed by the generals commanding the Allied Army before Dresden, Count Klenau, Lieutenant-general Count Tolstoi, and lastly by Marshal Gouvion Saint Cyr. Then only shall they be valid.

Lieutenant-general COUNT TOLSTOI.

General of cavalry, COUNT de KLENAU.

## No. XXXV.

*Austrian Bulletin.*

*Head-quarters, Frankfort,  
November 17th, 1813.*

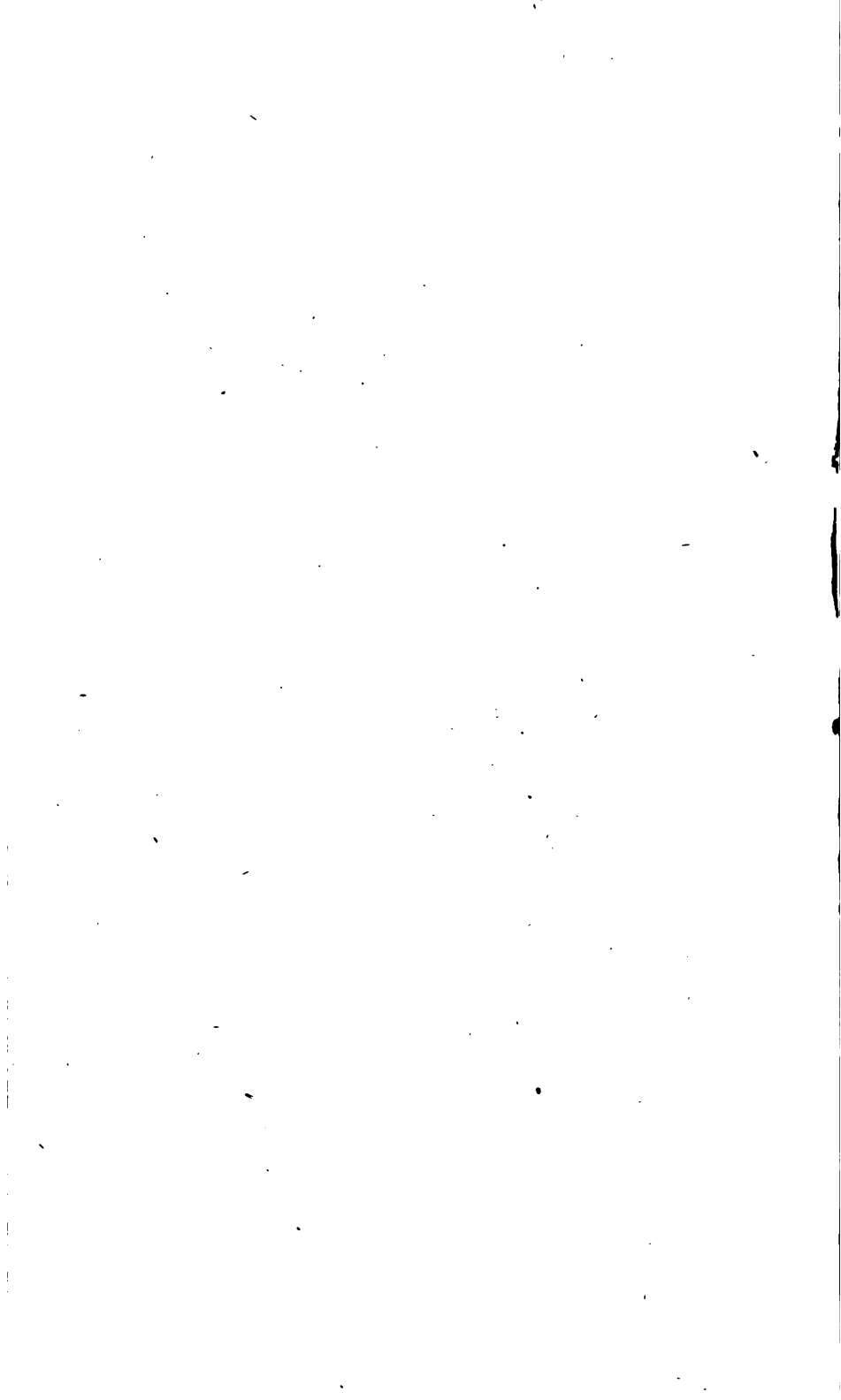
NAPOLÉON, in retiring with his army to the environs of Leipsic, had left Marshal Saint Cyr at Dresden, in order to preserve that strong place for the moment when the favourable issue of the impending battle, might permit him to resume his position on the Elbe. The loss of this battle necessarily involved the fall of Dresden. To accelerate its surrender, the General-in-Chief, Prince Schwartzenberg, believed it necessary to reinforce General Count Tolstoi, whom General Benningesen had left in the environs of Dresden; to this purpose he assigned the division of General Count Klenau, who began his march for Dresden on the 20th of October. In the mean time Marshal Gouvion Saint

Cyr had left Dresden and passed, with the major part of his corps, to the left bank of the Elbe; but he was driven back on the city by the united corps of Generals Klenau and Tolstoi; and confined within it, Marshal Saint Cyr felt the dangers of his critical situation, and on the 6th attempted an attack upon the corps of Field-marshal Lieutenant Prince of Wied Runkel, who blockaded the city on the right bank. The intention of the enemy was to open himself a passage upon Torgau, and to abandon Dresden which he could no longer defend. The vigorous resistance of the troops under the command of Prince Wied Runkel frustrated all the attacks of Marshal Saint Cyr, who was obliged to return to Dresden. His position became desperate; without provisions and ammunition, he beheld himself obliged to propose a capitulation to General Klenau, without any invitation on our side. In his own proposal of the capitulation he declared his *corps d'armée* prisoners of war, nevertheless on condition that it should return to France, and be allowed again to serve against the Allies six months after the signing of the capitulation. General Klenau informed him that he had no power whatever to accept such unfavourable conditions, and he feared to become responsible if he should accept them. This reply did not prevent Marshal Saint Cyr from reiterating propositions, which, as an experienced general, he must have foreseen that the General-in-Chief Prince Schwartzberg would not accept. By the capitulation signed on the 11th, the French garrison was permitted to return to France, on condition that they should not serve against the Allies for six months; it was stipulated that they should leave Dresden in six columns on the 12th and 17th. The desire of preserving the city, and of changing the destination of his troops probably induced General Klenau to sign a capitulation so contrary to the positive orders he had previously received from the Commander-in-Chief. The Marshal, Commander-in-

Chief, found himself necessitated to censure the conduct of General Klenau, and to refuse his approval of the capitulation. Field-marshal Lieutenant the Marquis de Chasteller was commissioned to acquaint Marshal Saint Cyr with this circumstance, and to replace the enemy's corps in possession of Dresden, and all the means of defence they possessed before the signature of the capitulation.

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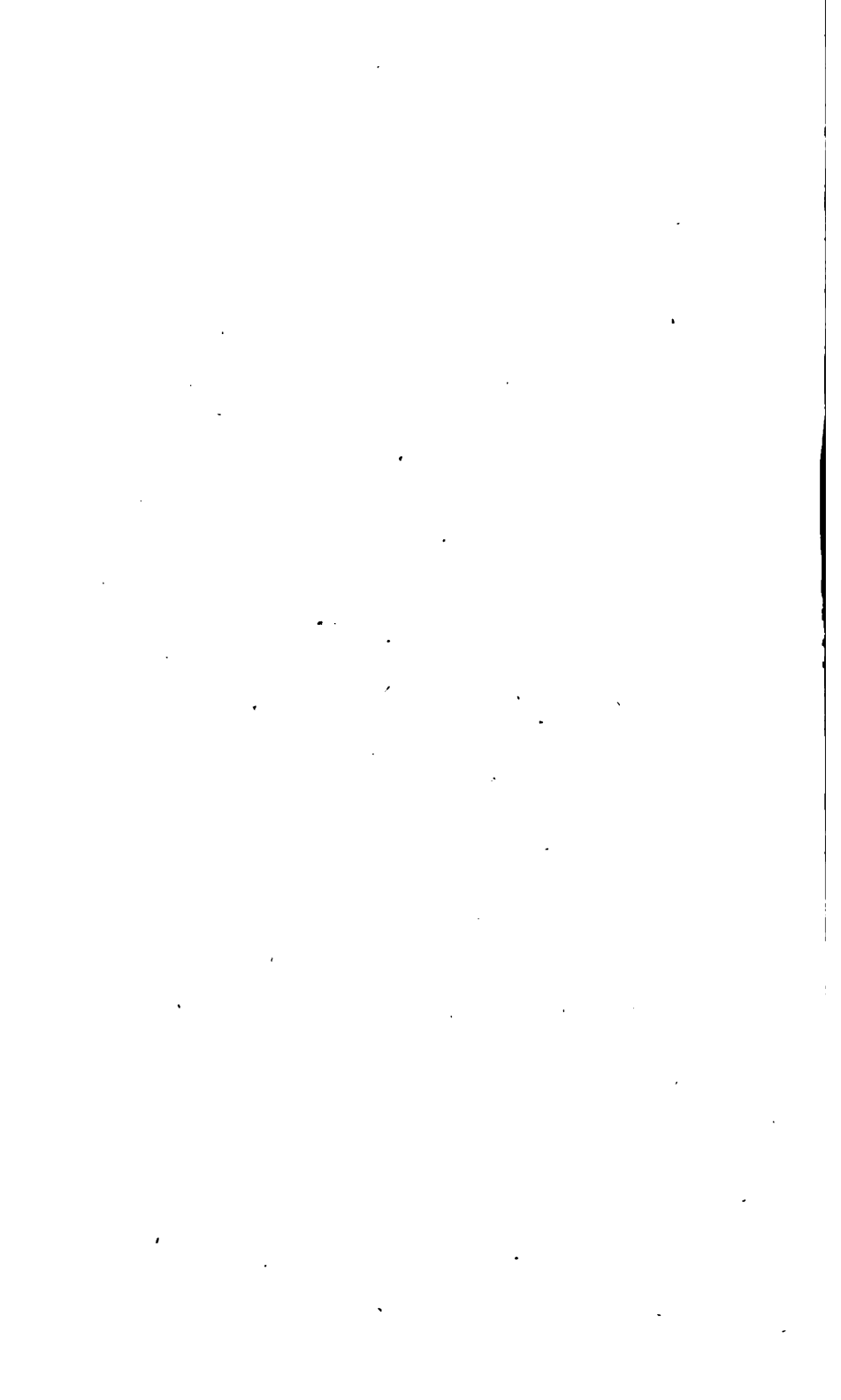
# **DOCUMENTS**

**ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER,**

**ON THE**

**BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.**

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## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

Despatches from his Excellency General Viscount Cathcart, K. T.; Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Charles William Stewart, K. B.; and His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T., addressed to Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

*Despatch from General Viscount Cathcart, dated Leipsic,  
October 19, 1813.*

MY LORD,

The Allies have gained a complete victory, and Buonaparte, who left Leipsic at ten o'clock this morning, is retiring with such precipitation and disorder, that Generals Regnier, Lauriston, Bertrand, and several others, were taken in this city, or near it.

The intention of the enemy being apparent, the Russian reserve, and the troops which had been least engaged, marched at an early hour up the Elster, to endeavour to stop him; Cossacks having been already detached, under the Attaman Count Platoff, to destroy bridges, and to occasion every possible difficulty and embarrassment.

General Blucher has also detached a strong corps to go up the left bank of the Saale.

The operations which have led to this great event are as follow :

The Emperor Alexander having rendered the army of reserve under General Bennigsen disposable for active service, that General marched from the Saxon frontier in Silesia into Bohemia, and arrived on the left bank of the Elbe, by Aussig and Leutmeritz, in the first days of October.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the 7th, a report was received that General Blucher, by the most rapid and brilliant movement that has been made during this war, marched from Elsterwerda to the mouth of the Black Elster, near the town of that name, and having crossed by the bridge he carried with him, defeated the French corps at Wartemberg, driving its remains to Wittenberg, and immediately advanced within reach of the Prince Royal, who had bridges at Rosslau and Acken.

On the 8th, accounts were received at Commotau, that the Prince Royal had crossed the Elbe, and was in communication with Blucher. On that day, a general advance was made from all the posts on the Bohemian frontier, including General Bennigsen's army.

\* \* \* \* \*

It was now evident that Buonaparte had left Dresden, and was concentrating his army at Leipsic, and at Wurzen, and Eilenburg: the Elector of Saxony following with his family.

The Emperor of Russia left Commotau in the night of the 8th, followed by the reserve of his army.

\* \* \* \* \*

The remainder of the grand army had proceeded down the Elster by Zeist and Pegau to Lutzen, on its left, and

to Borna and Espenheim on its right. General Blucher having moved to Halle, a direct communication was opened, through Merseberg, with that general and the Prince Royal.

The enemy shewed a line of troops in the villages of Groben, Golsa, Stormenthal, and Kora, between the Pleisse and the Partha, which having been attacked by Count Wittgenstein and General Klenau, on the 13th, a considerable affair took place, in which the enemy was dislodged on his right, and it would have been more serious, if the Field-Marshal, who came up, had not judged it premature, and put a stop to it. Orders had been sent to General Bennigsen, to leave General Count Peter Tolstoy, with a considerable force to mask Dresden and Koenigstein, and to march with the remainder of his force and General Bubna's corps by Nossen on Grimma; while Count Colloredo, who had been left with his corps to act with General Bennigsen, was to march by Freyberg and Chemnitz, to join and support the Field Marshal's army.

During this period the Bavarian treaty was signed, which opened new lines of communication to the South; and Marshal Augereau, who had been much harassed and impeded in his march, and had lost part of his corps, reached Leipsic with the remainder. Buonaparte had also made a journey to Wittenberg, and sent troops to destroy, or to oblige the Allies to destroy, the bridges at Rosslau and Acken, pushing a small corps to Zerbst, by which he gave some ground to believe that he meant to march down the right bank of the Mulda, to pass the Elbe at Wittenberg, and to repass again at Magdeburg. This feint had the effect of inducing the Prince Royal to fall back to Cothen, where he assembled his army. Finding, however, that the movement of the enemy on the right bank of the Elbe had no other consequence, he decided to return to General

Blucher, and to take his post in the general action with that general.

Reports having been received of the march of General Bennigsen and Count Colloredo, the army marched on the 15th from Altenberg to Pegau (the place of assembly on the morning of the battle of Lutzen); and it was determined to attack the enemy the following morning, without waiting for the certainty of the arrival either of the Prince Royal, General Bennigsen, or Count Colloredo, judging that their forces would influence the enemy by their approach, and that they would be fresh for the second day; whereas by waiting, the enemy might either improve his preparations, or escape. Accordingly, the heads of all the columns advanced towards the enemy's position at day-break on the 16th, General Blucher by Schenditz to Golitz and Wetteritz, General Giulay by Lutzen on Lindenau; General Count Mehrfeldt between the Elster and Pleisse, on Connewitz; General Prince of Hesse Hombourg, on the right bank of the Elster, in the same direction, to support Count Wittgenstein towards Wachaw, with General Kleist on his right, towards Liebertwolkwitz; and General Klenau on the extreme right towards Fuchshayn, on the Grimma road.

The enemy occupied the only ridge in this plain in front of the named places, behind the centre of which, towards Leipsic, Buonaparte's tent was pitched. He was also in force at Connewitz, on the side of General Giulay's advance, and towards General Blucher.

At half past nine, immediately on the Emperor's arrival on the field, the cannonade began with Count Wittgenstein's corps, and immediately extended to both flanks on the whole position, and was continued without any intermission till after dark at night.

It was intended that Count Mehrfeldt and General

Klenau, should turn the enemy on their respective flanks, but the French were in great force on their left, and the quantity of water, and the number of gardens and summer houses near Connewitz, rendered Count Mehrfeldt's task extremely arduous.

Count Wittgenstein almost immediately drove the enemy from the heights opposed to him, and the whole ridge was for some time occupied by the Allies; but a large force of infantry and cavalry opposed to General Kleist, occasioned a continual contest during the whole morning.

Count Mehrfeldt having advanced to Connewitz, beyond the right of the force opposed to Count Wittgenstein, repaired the bridge which had been destroyed on the Pleisse at Dolitz, and was about to pass over, when, unfortunately, his horse was killed, and himself taken prisoner by a column of the enemy, which was supposed to be a division of the Allies retiring.

At the same time Murat, at the head of an immense body of cavalry, appeared on the ridge, on the right of Count Wittgenstein, and judging that he had time to attack before the Russian reserve could come up to him, he sent on the light artillery of the guard, and immediately afterwards charged with his masses of cavalry. The Russian reserve had broken ground in its front, which rendered it impossible for the cuirassiers to meet him with the velocity they desired; but the cavalry of Count Wittgenstein's corps, and attached to it, attacked him in flank, and he retired with as much precipitation as he advanced.

During the preparation of Murat's attack, the Austrian cavalry was greatly distinguished; they made nine charges on the enemy's right, in some of which they swept the whole front with great slaughter. The Russian cuirassiers having advanced, together with the guards and grenadiers, and the latter having occupied a wood on their right, no



further attack was made ; but the cannonade and fire of the *tirailleurs* continued till after dark, when the troops lay upon their arms upon the ground they occupied.

General Giulay, opposed by superior force, could not penetrate. General Blucher had a brilliant action, and defeated the force opposed to him, taking upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, an eagle, and more than two thousand prisoners.

The next morning at day-break, Count Wittgenstein's corps appeared on the ground from whence he had driven the enemy, but the heads of columns of the French cavalry and infantry were on their right on the same ridge, the cannon on each side almost within musket shot, and the *videttes* within pistol-shot ; and in this attitude the armies remained the whole day, without firing a shot, except some accidental skirmishing by the advanced men. Three great corps were advancing rapidly to join the Allies ; it was therefore evidently not to their advantage to renew the attack, unless either General Blucher, or the Field-Marshal, was attacked by the enemy, in which case, either would have advanced immediately to support the other. Count Colloredo arrived at the village of Magdeborn at noon, and in the evening relieved Count Wittgenstein, who became his support. In the evening also part of General Bennisen's corps arrived, and would have immediately marched upon the enemy's flank, had not the General been made acquainted, while framing his attack, that the action was postponed. The Prince Royal also sent notice, that he would arrive on General Blucher's left by the afternoon of the next day.

The received disposition for troops in these plains, is now, to form immense solid columns of infantry and cavalry, which are denominated masses, and which are distributed according to the ground, in one or more lines, always with

reserves; in front are great quantities of artillery, within reach of support. All villages, and broken or covered ground, are occupied by detachments, furnished by the nearest masses, and supported by them; and which, being defended by musketry, always occasion great slaughter. Except on such occasions, and as skirmishers, the infantry and the cavalry are seldom seen in line, but the masses which are usually formed behind the centre of the corps which composes them respectively, can always extend expeditiously to a larger front or into line.

Wurtzen was occupied on the 17th by a detachment of General Bennigsen's army.

On the 18th, the disposition for a general action was carried into effect; Marshal Schwartzenberg's order of battle, from left to right, was as follows:—Count Colloredo's corps, supported by the Austrian reserve, and connected with General Mehrfeldt's corps; Count Wittgenstein and General Kleist, supported the Russian reserve; General Klenau, his right a little brought forward, supported also by Russian grenadiers; General Bennigsen, his right still more advanced towards Posa; beyond the morass on his right, General Bubna, and Count Platoff were advanced, connecting between General Bennigsen and the Prince Royal.

General Blucher was to advance between his Royal Highness and the great morass which extends from Merseburg to Leipsic; and General Giulay in his original direction from Lutzen upon Lindenau.

The village of Liebertwolkwitz was the point to which all the attacks under the direction of the Field-Marshal were to point; the corps advancing towards a central point thereby becoming gradually more closely connected, and the more distant corps on the right advancing first.

The enemy occupied the villages with masses in their

rear, but the more distant posts were carried without being much supported, the masses retiring with precipitation towards the suburbs of Leipsic. All the villages, however, were defended with cannon, which rendered the action and the cannonade general over the whole extent of the plain.

Some of the villages nearest this city were most obstinately disputed. The whole plain is covered with bodies of dead men and horses; and the ruins of the villages are full of heaps of dead and dying. Every part of the combination succeeded; General Blucher's left, connected with the Prince Royal's advanced corps, consisting of the Russians and Prussians, came into action in the afternoon, having approached by Taucha. Towards the latter part of the day, by far the most serious and obstinate efforts of attack and defence were made at the villages of Stetteritz and Probsteyda, the former of which was taken and retaken several times; the latter held out till dark. Napoleon was several hours between these villages, animating his men, and sending in fresh troops till dark; and it must be confessed, that they were most gallantly defended.

The Emperor of Russia was with his army during the whole of the three days; on the first he was joined in the field by the King, who had remained at Toplitz, and had accompanied General Bennigsen's army in its actions near Pirna and before Dresden.

In the afternoon of the 18th, the Emperor of Austria arrived, and joined the other monarchs near the village of Probsteyda, where their Majesties remained till dark.

The enemy had then been driven from every part of his position, into a circle within cannon-shot of Leipsic, from whence a column had already begun its march towards the south-west. In the night, the villages of Stetteritz and Probsteyda were abandoned, and occupied by the Allies; but

Buonaparte continued to hold Leipsic, and the villages connected with the suburbs, with a strong rear-guard towards the Allies.

He seems to have counted upon the presence of the Saxon Electoral Family, and the solicitations of the inhabitants to preserve the city, to gain time and to provide for his own security ; but he was disappointed. The Emperor Alexander received a flag of truce, sent in the name of the King of Saxony, offering to capitulate to save the town. His Imperial Majesty gave his answer aloud, in the hearing of many hundred officers, with remarkable force and dignity : he said, in substance, that an army in pursuit of a flying enemy, and in the hour of victory, could not be stopped a moment by considerations for the town ; that, therefore, the gates must be immediately opened, and, in that case, the most strict discipline should be observed ; that if the German troops in the place chose to join their countrymen in this army, they should be received as brothers ; but that he considered any proposal sent, while Napoleon was at hand, as extremely suspicious, as he well knew the enemy he had to deal with ; that as to the King of Saxony personally, who had taken a line of determined hostility, he gave no answer, and declined making any communication.

The heavy cannon and columns of attack were ordered to advance. In the mean while, the Prince Royal attacked and stormed the city on the other side, a Prussian corps being the first in the square.

General Toll, who had been sent with the Saxon flag of truce to ensure the correct delivery of the message, was, at that moment, in the Elector of Saxony's apartment, and, running out, called to the Saxon Guards to lay down their arms, which they instantly did ; their example being followed

by the Baden and Wurtemberg troops. The action continued some time in the further part of the town, and, before it ceased, the Emperor and the King entered with the Field-Marshal, and met the Prince Royal at the door of the Elector of Saxony's quarters. General Blucher arrived also at the same time. All the cannon was taken, the particulars of which are not yet collected.

A guard of Russian grenadiers immediately mounted over the Elector of Saxony, and their Majesties rode out to see the Prince Royal's army.

The Emperor of Austria arrived during the day in Leipsic.

The Austrian and Bavarian army, under General Wrede, will reach Wurtsburg the 24th. The Russian reserve will get to Pegau this evening.

The extent of the result of this important day cannot as yet be ascertained. Near half a million of soldiers fought in this battle, probably one of the most extensive and most generally engaged that ever took place, at least in modern history.

The presence of the Sovereigns has certainly a most animating effect on their armies. All have behaved well; the Austrians have had a full share, and many of their Generals have been wounded. The Field-Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg received the Grand Cross of Maria Theresa from the hands of his Imperial Master, and that of the first class of St. George from the Emperor Alexander. General Barclay de Tolly is created a Count.

This is the eighth general action, seven of them commanded by the Ruler of France, in which I have seen the Emperor Alexander in the field at the head of his army: as usual, unmindful of personal danger, he approached every column, animating the officers and men by his presence and example, and, by a few energetic words, touching the chords which

produce the strongest effects on the minds of Russian soldiers,—confidence in the Supreme Being, resignation to his will, and attachment to their Sovereign.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed)

CATHCART.

*Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.*

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*Despatch from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Charles Stewart, dated Leipsic, October 21, 1813.*

MY LORD,

THE pursuit of the enemy continues on all sides; and prisoners, baggage, and the attirail of a flying army, are hourly sending in by the Cossacks and light troops.

Buonaparte certainly reached Lutzen on the 19th; and it seems that he will either direct his march across the Saale, and make for Nordhausen, in order to place himself ultimately behind the Weser, calling Marshal Davoust's army from the north to his aid, or attempt to move upon the chaussée to Erfurth, after passing the Saale at Weissenfels. It is almost impossible he should escape but with the wreck of an army; but your Lordship will easily imagine, that masses directed in one line may force their way through smaller corps.

The following disposition of the allied army was agreed upon yesterday, and is, I believe, to be carried into effect: the grand army of Bohemia marches upon the enemy's right, in the direction of Frankfort upon the Maine, taking the route of Pegau, Zeist, and Ersenberg.

The army of General Bennigsen, united to the army of the North, and under the orders of the Crown Prince, follows the enemy's centre in the direction of Lutzen and Merseberg.

The glorious army of Silesia was hardly arrived near Leipsic, when it took another cast off to the right, and is to *cotoyer* the enemy's left by Merseberg, and this day its cannon are heard in that direction.

If the enemy passes the Saale at Weissenfels, the army of the Prince Royal, in that case, will move upon Freyberg.

The Saxon troops have been joined to the Prince Royal's army: a thousand Baden troops are considered prisoners of war. The details of the captures are greater than I had conceived; fifty more pieces of cannon have been found; many were buried by the enemy.

Prince Poniatowski, who received two wounds in attempting to pass the Pleisse, in despair of getting off, was drowned in that river.

His Prussian Majesty has nominated General Blucher to the rank of Field-Marshal, for his most pre-eminent services; and their Majesties the Emperors of Austria and Russia have conferred upon Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, the first class of the Orders of St. George and Maria Theresa, and the King of Prussia, the Order of the Black Eagle.

Several battalions of Poles have joined the army.

The Emperor leaves this to-morrow for Zeitz or Ersenberg.

The Prince Royal, I understand, since writing the above, has changed his line of march, and moves to Naumburg.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed,)

CHARLES STEWART,

*Viscount Castlereagh, &c.*

Lieut. General.

*Despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen, dated Leipzig, Oct. 22,  
1813.*

MY LORD,

I COULD expatiate with the utmost satisfaction on all the particulars of the glorious and decisive victories, which have been obtained by the persevering valour of the Allies, in the neighbourhood of this city, but as these events have been fully detailed to you by others more competent to the task, I shall spare your Lordship the fatigue of a tale twice told.

I am, however, enabled to furnish your Lordship with some of the latest information on this subject, contained in a communication made to me by Count Metternich this evening: by which it appears, that the results of the great battles of the 16th, 18th, and 19th, surpass all conception. The number of prisoners already taken is more than 40,000; every hour adds materially to the amount. On the 20th, the corps which advanced in pursuit of the enemy took 120 pieces of artillery. The whole number of cannon taken amounts to 300, and more than 1,000 caissons have fallen into the hands of the Allies. The booty taken in this city is immense. The suburbs of the town, and the principal gates, are blocked up with carriages, baggage-waggons, and equipages of every description.

It is impossible to form a notion of the disorder which reigned among the enemy during the flight. Buonaparte quitted the town with considerable difficulty, as all the principal streets were completely impassable from the disorderly mass of fugitives. Prince Poniatowski and Marshal Macdonald finding it impossible to escape, spurred their horses and leapt into the Pleisse. The banks of the river being marshy and difficult of access, Poniatowski was seen



to perish by his aid-de-camp, who is now a prisoner. As Macdonald has not been discovered, it is supposed that he shared the same fate. Since the day before yesterday, several thousand bodies have been taken from of the river. The streets and high roads are heaped with dead bodies, and with wounded, whom hitherto it has been found impossible to remove.

Twenty-seven Generals have been already taken, but it is possible the list may be augmented, as the number of prisoners of every rank becomes greater hourly. Among those who have been recognised, besides Lauriston, Reginier, and Bertrand, are Mandeville, Peri, Krazinsky, Bronikowsky, Kaminiesky, Rautenstrauck, the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, Count Frederic of Hochberg, the Prince Wittgenstein, &c.

General Latour Maubourg is dead of his wounds. General Souham is mortally wounded.

In the action of the 16th, Buonaparte himself very narrowly escaped being made prisoner. In consequence of a most desperate charge made by the Austrian cuirassiers, the French line was broken through, and Buonaparte, with the persons round him, owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses.

According to intelligence received from Gen. Blucher, whom his Majesty the King of Prussia has just made Field-Marshal, he entered Weissenfels last night, and made two thousand prisoners, as well as one thousand six hundred wounded, whom the enemy left in their flight.

The grand army, under the command of Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, is advancing by forced marches in the direction of Jena.

His Imperial Majesty went yesterday to Zeitz, in order to follow the enemy, who, it is not imagined, can have more than eighty thousand men.

On the 24th of this month General Wrede will be at Wurtzburg, with about sixty thousand men.

The Austrian army is animated with the best spirit, which is increased by the just title the Commander-in-Chief has acquired to their confidence. His Imperial Majesty has decorated him with the Great Cross of the order of Maria Theresa. The Emperor of Russia has conferred on him the Great Cross of the order of St. George; and full justice is rendered to his merits by the unanimous voice of the allied army.

I cannot conclude without congratulating your Lordship on the brilliant prospect which opens before us. The long sufferings of many nations are drawing to a close. The deliverance of Europe appears to be at hand. That ray of hope for the salvation of the civilized world, which has so steadily beamed from our own happy shores, is now rapidly diffused over the whole Continent. If any thing can add to our feelings of exultation, as Englishmen, at this prospect, it is the reflection that this event will be mainly attributable to the unshaken constancy and perseverance of Great Britain. I am truly happy to be able to state to your Lordship, that this feeling is not confined to ourselves, but is admitted and avowed by all those who are most entitled to consideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ABERDEEN.

*Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.*

## No. II.

## FRENCH OFFICIAL BULLETINS.

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*Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the Armies, on the 15th of October, 1813.*

ON the 7th, the Emperor left Dresden; on the 8th, he slept at Wurtzen, the 9th at Eulenburg, and on the 10th at Luben.

The enemy's army of Silesia, which had marched upon Wurtzen, immediately retreated, and repassed to the left bank of the Mulda; it had some engagements, in which we made some prisoners, and took several hundreds of baggage waggons.

General Regnier had marched upon Wittenberg, and having passed the Elbe, marched upon Roslau, turned the bridge of Dessau, seized upon it, afterwards marched upon Aken, and took possession of the bridge. General Bertrand marched upon the bridges of Wartenburg, and seized upon them. The Prince of the Moskwa marched upon the town of Dessau; he met a Russian division. General Delmas overthrew it, and took 3,000 men and six pieces of cannon. Several cabinet courtiers, among others, Sieur Kraft, with despatches of high importance, were taken.

After having thus obtained possession of all the enemy's bridges, the Emperor's intention was to pass the Elbe, to manoeuvre upon the right bank from Hamburg to

Dresden ; to threaten Potsdam and Berlin, and to take for the centre of operations Magdeburg, which, for this purpose, had been supplied with warlike stores and provisions: but, on the 15th, the Emperor learned at Luben, that the Bavarian army had joined the Austrian army, and threatened the Lower Rhine. This inconceivable defection made the defection of other princes be foreseen, and induced the Emperor to come to the resolution of returning towards the Rhine, a painful change, as every thing had been prepared to operate upon Magdeburg ; but it would have been requisite to have remained separated and without communication with France for a month. This would not have been inconvenient at the moment when the Emperor fixed his plans ; but the case was no longer the same, when Austria was about to have two new disposable armies ; the Bavarian army, and the army opposed to Bavaria. The Emperor, therefore, changed his plans with these unforeseen circumstances, and removed his head-quarters to Leipsic.

Meanwhile the King of Naples, who remained in observation at Freyberg, received orders, on the 7th, to make a change of route, and march upon Genig and Frohburg, operating upon Wurtzen and Wittenberg. An Austrian division, which occupied Augustusburg, rendering this movement difficult, the King received orders to attack it ; he defeated it, took several battalions, and afterwards effected his movement to the right. Meanwhile, the right of the enemy's army of Bohemia, composed of Wittgenstein's Russian corps, had marched upon Altenburg, upon intelligence of the King of Naples' change of front. It marched upon Freyberg, and afterwards by the left on Borna, placing itself between the King of Naples and Leipsic. The King did not hesitate respecting the manœuvre he ought to make ; he faced about, and marched upon the enemy, overthrew him, took nine pieces of cannon, 1,000 prisoners, and drove

him beyond the Elster, after having made him experience a loss of from 4 to 5,000 men.

On the 15th, the position of the army was as follows :— The Emperor's head-quarters were at Reidnitz, half a league from Leipsic. The 4th corps, commanded by General Bertrand, was at the village of Lindenau. The 6th corps was at Libenthal. The King of Naples, with the 2d, 8th, and 5th corps, had his right at Dœlitz, and his left at Libertwolkwitz. The 3d and 7th were in march from Eulenberg to flank the 6th corps.

The grand Austrian army of Bohemia had Giulay's corps opposite Lindenau, a corps at Zwenckaw, and the remainder of the army, with the left leaning on Grobera, and the right on Naumsdorf. The bridges of Wurtzen and Eulenburg, upon the Mulda, and the position of Taucha, upon the Partha, were occupied by our troops. Every thing announced a great battle.

The result of our different movements in these six days, has been 5,000 prisoners, several pieces of cannon, and doing much injury to the enemy. Prince Poniatowski has, in these circumstances, covered himself with glory.

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*Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the Armies on the Evening of the 16th of October.*

ON the 15th, Prince Schwartzenberg, commanding the enemy's army, announced in general orders, that the following day the 16th, there would be a general and decisive battle. Accordingly, on the 16th, at nine in the morning, the grand allied army debouched upon us ; it constantly operated to

extend itself upon its right. At first three large columns were seen marching, one along the river Elster, against the village of Dœlitz, the second against the village of Wachau, and the third against that of Liebertwolkwitz. These three columns were preceded by 200 pieces of cannon. The Emperor immediately made his dispositions.

At ten o'clock the cannonade was most violent, and at eleven the two armies were engaged in the villages of Dœlitz, Wachau, and Liebertwolkwitz. These villages were attacked six or seven times; the enemy was constantly repulsed, and covered the approaches with his dead. Count Lauriston, with the fifth corps, defended the village on the left (Liebertwolkwitz); Prince Poniatowski, with his brave Poles, defended the village on the right (Dœlitz); and the Duke of Belluno defended Wachau.

At noon the sixth attack of the enemy had been repulsed; we were masters of the three villages, and had made 2,000 prisoners. Nearly at the same moment, the Duke of Tarentum debouched by Holzhausen, marching upon an enemy's redoubt, which General Charpentier carried at the *pas de charge*, seizing the artillery, and making some prisoners.

The moment appeared decisive. The Emperor ordered the Duke of Reggio to march upon Wachau with two divisions of the young guard. He equally directed the Duke of Treviso to march against Liebertwolkwitz with two other divisions of the young guard, and take possession of an extensive wood which is upon the left of the village. At the same time he caused to be advanced upon the centre, a battery of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which General Drouet directed. The whole of those dispositions had that success which was expected from them. The enemy's artillery went to a distance. The enemy retired, and the whole field of battle remained in our possession.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon; all the enemy's

troops had been engaged; he had recourse to his reserve. Count Mehrfeldt, who commanded in chief the Austrian reserve, supported with six divisions all the troops in all the attacks; and the Imperial Russian Guards, who formed the reserve of the Austrian army, supported the centre. The cavalry of the Russian guards, and the Austrian cuirassiers, precipitated themselves, by their left, upon our right; they seized upon Doslitz, and came prancing about the Duke of Belleno's squares. The king of Naples marched with Latour Maubourg's cuirassiers, and charged the enemy's cavalry, by the left of Wachau; at the same time the Polish cavalry and dragoons of the guard, commanded by General Letort, charged by the right. The enemy's cavalry were defeated; two entire regiments remained upon the field of battle. General Letort made 300 Austrian and Russian prisoners. General Latour Maubourg took some hundreds of men of the Russian Guard. The Emperor immediately ordered Curial's division of the guard to advance to support Prince Poniatowski. General Curial marched upon the village of Doslitz, attacked it with the bayonet, carried it without firing a shot, and made 1,200 prisoners, among whom was the general-in-chief Mehrfeldt.

Affairs being thus re-established on our right, the enemy put himself in retreat, and the field of battle was no longer disputed with us. The reserve artillery of the guards, which General Druet commanded, were with the tirailleurs: the enemy's cavalry came and charged them. The artillerymen formed their pieces in a square, which they had the precaution to load with grape-shot, and fired with so much dexterity, that in an instant the enemy was repulsed. Upon these events the French cavalry advanced to support these batteries.

General Maison, commanding a division of the 5th corps, an officer of the greatest distinction, was wounded. General Latour Maubourg, commanding the cavalry, had his thigh

carried off by a ball. Our loss on this day has been 2,500 men killed and wounded. It will not be exaggerating to estimate that of the enemy at 25,000 men. One cannot too much eulogize General Lauriston and Prince Poniatowski's good conduct during this day. To give the latter a proof of his satisfaction, the Emperor appointed him, on the field of battle, a French Marshal, and granted a great number of decorations to the regiments of his corps.

General Bertrand was at the same time attacked in the village of Lindenau, by Generals Giulay, Thielman, and Lichtenstein. They deployed from different parts about 50 pieces of cannon. The combat lasted six hours, without the enemy's being able to gain an inch of ground. At five in the evening, General Bertrand decided the victory by making a charge with his reserve, and not only rendered vain the enemy's designs, who rushed to seize upon the bridges of Lindenau and the suburbs of Leipsic, but even constrained him to evacuate his field of battle.

Upon the right of the Partha, a league from Leipsic, and nearly four leagues from the field of battle where the Emperor was, the Duke of Ragusa was engaged. By one of those fatal circumstances which often have an influence over the most important affairs, the 3rd corps, which was to support the Duke of Ragusa, hearing nothing on that side at ten in the morning, and, on the contrary, hearing a terrible cannonade on that side where the Emperor was, thought proper to march thither, and thus lost the day in marches.

The Duke of Ragusa abandoned to his own forces, defended Leipsic, and maintained his position during the day; but he suffered losses which were not compensated by those he inflicted upon the enemy, however great they were. Some battalions of marine artillerymen conducted themselves but indifferently. Generals Compans and Frederich were wounded. In the evening the Duke of Ragusa, himself



slightly wounded, was obliged to contract his position upon the Partha. He was obliged to abandon in this movement several dismounted cannon and several waggons.

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*Her Majesty the Empress has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the armies on the 24th of October, 1813.*

THE battle of Wachau disconcerted all the enemy's projects; but his army was so numerous that he had still resources. He hastily called in, during the night, the corps which he had left upon his line of operations, and the divisions which remained upon the Saale; and he pressed the march of General Bennigsen, who was coming up with 40,000 men.

After the movement in retreat, which he made on the 16th in the evening, and during the night, the enemy occupied a fine position two leagues in the rear. It was requisite to employ the 17th in reconnoitring and fully determining upon the point of attack.—That day was besides necessary to allow the parks of reserve to arrive, and replace the 80,000 cannon balls which had been expended in the battle. The enemy had therefore time to re-assemble his troops which he had scattered, when he delivered himself up to his chimerical projects, and to receive the reinforcements which he expected.

Having received information of the arrival of these reinforcements, and knowing that the position of the enemy was very strong, the Emperor resolved to draw them upon another ground. The 18th, at two o'clock in the morning, he approached Leipsic within two leagues, and formed his army with the right at Connewitz, his centre at Probstheyde,

and the left at Stoetteritz; placing himself at the mill of Ta.

The Prince of the Moskwa, on his part, had placed his troops in front of the army of Silesia, on the Partha; the 6th corps at Schoenfeld, and the 3d and 7th along the Partha, at Neutsch, and at Teckla. The Duke of Padua, with General Dombrowski, guarded the position and the suburbs of Leipsic, on the road of Halle. At three o'clock in the morning, the Emperor was at the village of Lindenau, and ordered General Bertrand to march to Lutzen and Weissenfels, to sweep the plain, and secure the debouches of the Saale, and the line of communication with Erfurt. The light troops of the enemy dispersed, and at noon General Bertrand was master of Weissenfels, and the bridge on the Saale. Having thus secured his communications, the Emperor waited the approach of the enemy with firmness.

At nine o'clock, the scouts announced that they were marching on all the line. At ten o'clock, the cannonade commenced. Prince Poniatowski and General Lesol defended the bridge of Connewitz. The King of Naples, with the 2d corps, was at Probstheyde, and the Duke of Tarentum at Holzhausen. All the efforts of the enemy, during the day, against Connewitz and Probstheyde, failed. The Duke of Tarentum was out-flanked at Holzhausen. The Emperor ordered him to take a position at the village of Stoetteritz: the cannonade was terrible. The Duke of Castiglione, who defended a wood in the centre, maintained himself there the whole of the day. The old guard was drawn up in reserve, on a rising ground, in four massy columns directed towards the four principal points of attack. The Duke of Reggio was sent to support Prince Poniatowski; and the Duke of Treviso to guard the debouches of the city of Leipsic. The principal success of the battle was at the village of Probstheyde: the enemy attacked it

four times in considerable force, and four times they were repulsed with great loss. At five o'clock in the evening the Emperor caused the artillery of the reserve to advance, and drove back the fire of the enemy, who withdrew to the distance of a league from the field of battle.

In the mean time, the army of Silesia attacked the suburb of Halle. All its attacks, repeated a number of times, during the day, failed. It attempted, with the greater part of its force, to pass the Partha at Schoenfeld and St. Teckla. Thrice it succeeded in gaining a footing on the left bank; and thrice the Prince of the Moskwa repulsed and overthrew it at the point of the bayonet. At three o'clock *p. m.* the victory was our's, as well on this side against the army of Silesia, as on the side of the Emperor against the grand army.

But at this instant the Saxon army, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and the Wurtemberg cavalry, passed over in a body to the enemy. Of the Saxon army there remained only General Zeschau, the commander-in-chief, and 500 men. This act of treason not only caused a vacancy in our lines, but also delivered up to the enemy the important debouche confided to the Saxon army, who carried their infamy so far as instantly to turn their 40 pieces of cannon against the division of Durutte. A moment of disorder succeeded; the enemy passed the Partha, and marched upon Reidnitz, which they occupied; they were now, therefore, only half a league from Leipsic. The Emperor sent his horse-guards, commanded by General Nansouty, with 20 pieces of artillery, to take in flank the troops that were advancing along the Partha to attack Leipsic.

He proceeded in person with a division of the guards to the village of Reidnitz. The promptitude of these movements restored order. The village was retaken, and the enemy driven to a great distance. The field of battle

remained entirely in our power, and the French army remained victorious in the fields of Leipsic as they had in those of Wachau. At night-fall, the fire of our cannon had, at all points, repulsed that of the enemy to the distance of a league from the field of battle. The Generals of Division Vialand Rochambeau fell gloriously. Our loss on this day may be estimated at 4000 men, killed and wounded; that of the enemy must have been considerable in the extreme. They took no prisoners from us, and we took from them 500 men.

At six in the evening, the Emperor ordered his dispositions for the following day; but at seven o'clock, Generals Sorbier and Dulanloy, commanding the artillery of the army and of the guards, came to his bivouac to inform him of the expenditure of the day: 95,000 cannon balls had been fired. They informed him that the ammunition in reserve was exhausted, and that there remained only 16,000 cannonballs; that this would scarcely suffice for a cannonade of two hours, after which no ammunition would remain for ulterior events; that the army had in five days fired upwards of 220,000 cannon balls, and that a further supply could only be furnished at Magdeburg or Erfurt. This state of things rendered necessary a prompt movement upon one of our two largest depôts.

The Emperor decided for that of Erfurt, for the same reason which induced him to come to Leipsic, to enable him to appreciate the defection of Bavaria.

The Emperor immediately gave orders that the baggage, the parks, and the artillery should pass the defiles of Lindenau; he gave similar orders with respect to the cavalry, and the different corps of the army; and then repaired to the Prussian Hotel, in the suburbs of Leipsic, where he arrived at nine o'clock in the evening.

This circumstance obliged the French army to renounce

the fruits of the two victories in which they had, with so much glory, beaten troops greatly superior in numbers, and the armies of the whole Continent. But this movement was not without difficulty. From Leipsic to Lindenau there is a defile of two leagues, with from five to six bridges on the road. It was proposed to place 6,000 men and 60 pieces of cannon in Leipsic, which is a walled town; to occupy that town as a *tête de défilé*; to burn its vast suburbs in order to prevent the enemy from effecting a lodgment therein, and to give full scope for our artillery on the ramparts to play. However odious the treason of the Saxon army was, the Emperor could not resolve to destroy one of the finest cities in Germany; to deliver it up to the disorders of every kind inseparable from such a defence; and that, too, under the eyes of the King, who had been pleased to accompany the Emperor from Dresden, and who was so sensibly afflicted by the conduct of his army. The Emperor chose rather to expose himself to the loss of a few hundred waggons, than to adopt this barbarous measure.

At break of day, all the parks, the baggage, the whole of the artillery, the cavalry, the guards, and two-thirds of the army, had already passed the defile. The Duke of Tarentum and Prince Poniatowski were charged to hold the suburbs, and to defend them long enough to allow the whole to debouche, and then to execute, themselves, the passage of the defile towards eleven o'clock. At six o'clock in the morning the Magistrates of Leipsic sent a deputation to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, to beg that he would not make the city the scene of an action that would occasion its ruin. At nine o'clock the Emperor mounted his horse, entered Leipsic, and paid a visit to the King. He left this Prince at full liberty to do as he pleased, and not to quit his dominions, leaving them to be exposed to that seditious spirit which had been fomented amongst the soldiers. A Saxon

battalion had been formed at Dresden, and joined the young guard. The Emperor caused it to be drawn up at Leipsic, in front of the king's palace, to serve him as a guard, and protect him from the first movement of the enemy. Half an hour after, the Emperor repaired to Lindenau, there to await the evacuation of Leipsic, and to see the last troops pass the bridges before putting himself in march.

Meanwhile the enemy was speedily apprized that the greater part of the army had evacuated Leipsic, and that there remained there only a strong rear-guard. They briskly attacked the Duke of Tarentum and Prince Poniatowski; they were repeatedly repulsed; and, in the act of defending the suburbs, our rear-guard effected its retreat. But the Saxons that had remained in the city fired upon the troops from the ramparts, which obliged them to accelerate their retreat, and occasioned some disorder.

The Emperor had ordered the engineers to form *fougades* under the grand bridge which is between Leipsic and Lindenau, in order to blow it up at the latest moment; and thus to retard the march of the enemy, and give time for our baggage to file off. General Dulauloy had intrusted this operation to Colonel Montfort. This colonel instead of remaining on the spot to direct it, and to give the signal, ordered a corporal and four sappers to blow up the bridge the instant the enemy should appear. The corporal, an ignorant fellow, and but ill comprehending the nature of the duty with which he was charged, upon hearing the first shot discharged from the ramparts of the city, set fire to the *fougades* and blew up the bridge. A part of the army was still on the other side with a park of 80 pieces of artillery, and some hundreds of waggons. The advance of this part of the army, who were approaching the bridge, seeing it blow up, conceived it was in the power of the enemy. A cry of dismay spread from rank to rank—"The enemy are close upon rear, and

the bridges are destroyed!" The unfortunate soldiers dispersed, and endeavoured to effect their escape as well as they could. The Duke of Tarentum swam across the river; Count Lauriston, less fortunate, was drowned; Prince Poniatowski, mounted on a spirited horse, darted into the water, and appeared no more. The Emperor was not informed of this disaster until it was too late to remedy it. In fact, no remedy would have been possible. Colonel Montfort, and the corporal of Sappers, have been handed over to a Court-martial.

It is impossible as yet to ascertain the losses occasioned by this unfortunate event; but they are estimated at 12,000 men, and several hundred waggons. The disorder which it has occasioned in the army has changed the state of affairs. The French army, though victorious, is arriving at Erfurt, as a defeated army would have arrived there. It is impossible to describe the regret which the army feels for Prince Poniatowski, Count Lauriston, and all the brave men who perished in consequence of this fatal event.—We have no accounts of General Regnier; it is not known whether he is taken or killed. The profound grief of the Emperor may be easily conceived, who sees from inattention to his wide dispositions, the results of so many fatigues and labours completely vanishing.

On the 19th the Emperor slept at Markranstaedt, the Duke of Reggio remained at Lindenau. On the 20th the Emperor passed the Saale at Weissenfels. On the 21st the army passed the Unstrut at Freyburg; General Bertrand took a position upon the heights of Coesen. On the 22d the Emperor slept at the village of Ollendorf. On the 23d he arrived at Erfurt. The enemy, who had been struck with consternation by the battles of the 16th and 18th, has from the disaster of the 19th, resumed the courage and ascendancy of victory. The French army, after such bril-

liant successes, has lost its victorious attitude. We have found at Erfurt provisions, ammunition, clothing, all that the army stood in need of. The Staff will publish the reports of the different chiefs of the army as to the officers who distinguished themselves in the grand battles of Wachau and Leipsic.

**THE END.**



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**VOL. II.—ERRATUM.**

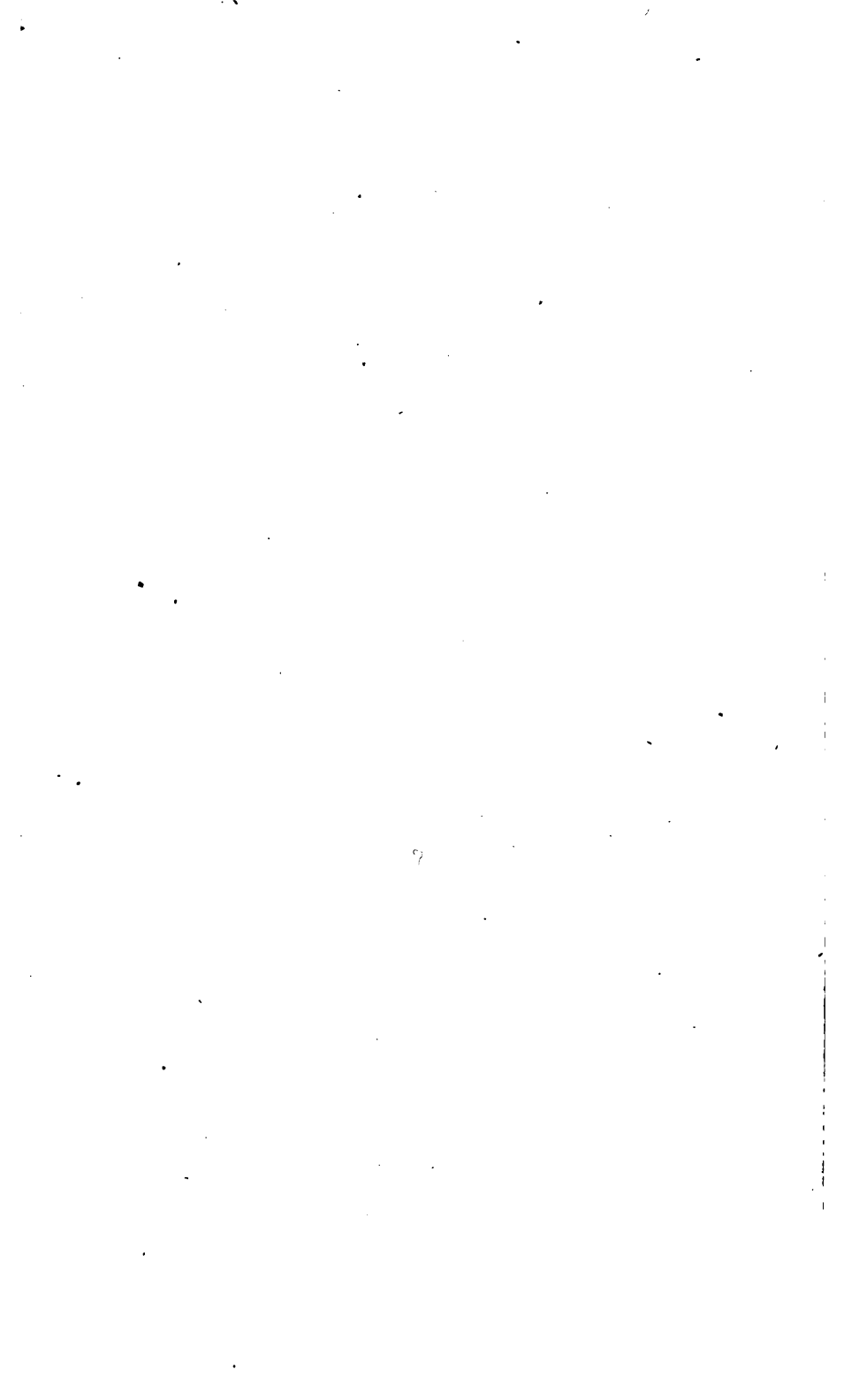
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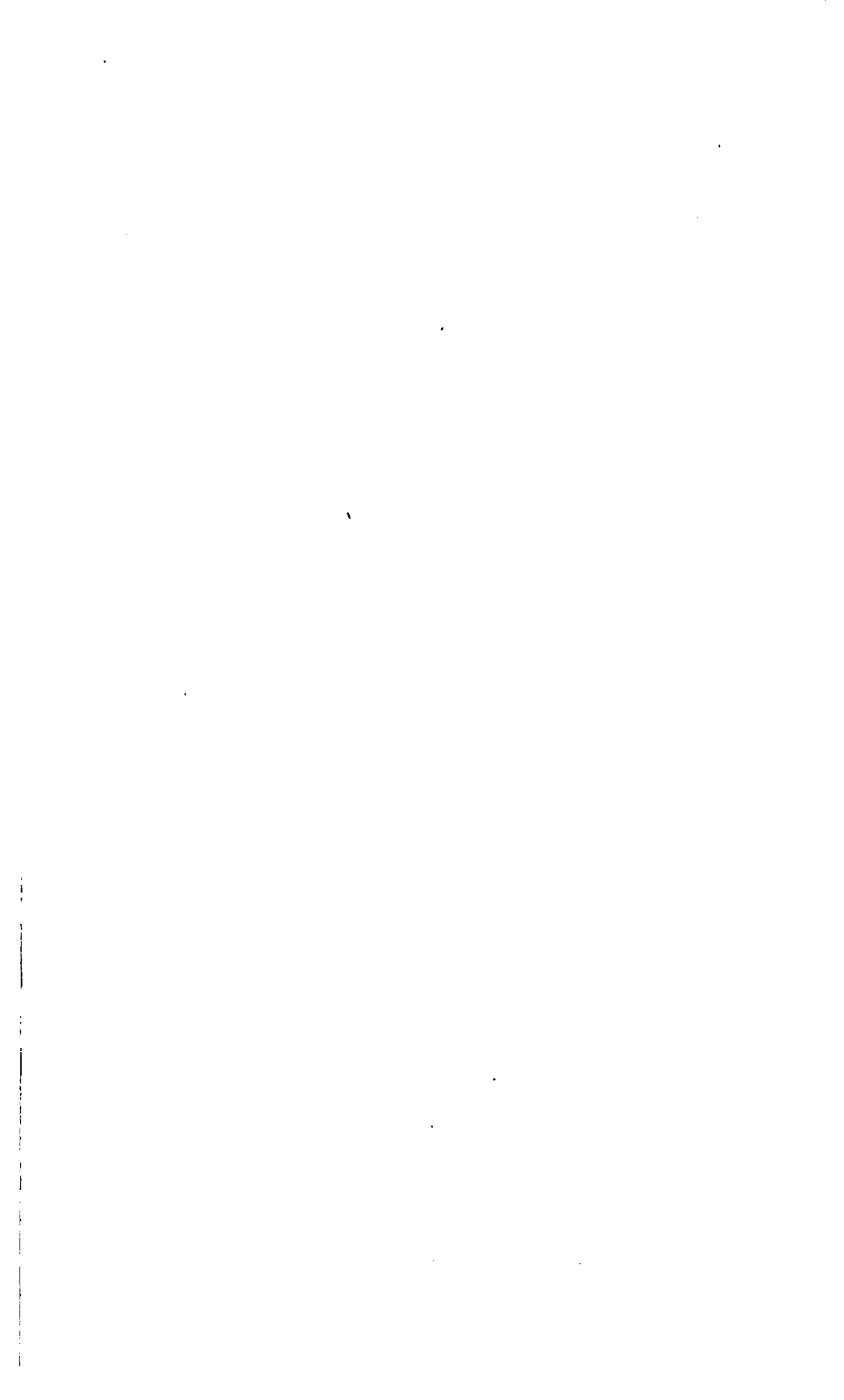
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